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St THE *Radcliffe*
Irish Rebellion:
OR, AN
HISTORY

Of the Beginnings and first
Progress of the General Rebellion
raised within the Kingdom of IRELAND,
upon the three & twentieth day of *October*,
in the Year 1641.

TOGETHER
With the Barbarous Cruelties and Bloody
Massacres which ensued thereupon.

By S^r JOHN TEMPLE K^t.
Master of the *Rolls*, and one of his Majesties
most honourable Privy Council within the
Kingdom of IRELAND.

LONDON,
Printed by R. *White* for SAMUEL GELLIBRAND,
at the Brazen Serpent in *Pauls Church-yard*, 1679.

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THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R.

Have here adventured to present unto publick view, the beginnings and first progress of the Rebellion lately raised within this Kingdom of *Ireland*. And although I cannot but take notice of such a multitude of imperfections in my self, as render me very unfit for the performance of this service: As also, that I shall thereby raise up much malice, and private displeasure, as well against my person, as my undertakings herein: Yet such is my zeal and most earnest desire to appear in this cause, as being now laid aside, and for the present disabled in any other way to be further useful to this unhappy Kingdom, I resolved to deny my self, and wholly departing from my own interests, to employ my weak endeavours, in setting down the sad story of our miseries. I might peradventure with much more advantage to my own particular have looked back (as far wiser men have done in their troubles) and passed my time in foreign

collections, or penning some story of times long since past, where the chief Actors are at rest, and their unquiet spirits so surely laid, as they are not to be moved with the shapest charge that can be laid on their memories: *Nulli gravis est percussus Achilles*. Most men are great lovers of themselves, and such constant admirers of their own actions, as they think they do well to be angry at any thing that shall (though never so truly) be reported to their disadvantage. They consider not their own natural imbecillities, their passions, destempers, or ill affections which lead them on to advise or act things of an ill fame; but are ready to fly in the faces of those who shall even in the fairest characters represent or leave any impressions of them. Hence it is that the truth of things comes quite to be overshadowed with false colours, and so to remain as it were buried alive, or otherways to appear extreamly disfigured through gross errors, base flattery, or wilful mistakes. For most men that are present adventurers in this kind, are wise enough to apprehend their own danger; and thereupon departing from the common interest that every other man hath in their story, reflect only upon their own particular, and suffer themselves to be over-awed with the humour of the present times; or so far transported, either with the benefits or private injuries received from particular persons, as they transmit very imperfect and weaker relations, or otherwise fill them up with such counterfeit stuff, as posterity will owe little to their information.

Monsieur du Plessis, a person of extraordinary abilities and learning, a great Minister of State under that glorious King *Henry* the 4th. of *France*, undertook as it appears by a Letter of his to *Monsieur Languet*, to write a Story of those times wherein he lived. But I cannot find that he ever suffered that work to come to the Press, whether by just apprehensions discouraged from publication, or whether it otherwise miscarried, I cannot say. But sure I am, in the same Letter he bitterly declaims against the humour of the times, and there plainly
tells

tells us, that after one hath writ an History, he dares not adventure the publishing of it. *Si non qu'il allegé pour cause d'un effect ce que n'a pas esté, comme une cause genereuse, au lieu de l'amour d'une femme, & d'une querelle de bordeau.* Such was then the iniquity of those times, so abominable and shameful, the true causes of the imbroilments in that Kingdom, that those wars (as the Court was then governed) had for the most part their first beginnings from some ill placed affection, or a private quarrel in an infamous place. And further speaking on this subject, he intimates how dangerous it is to set forth the actions of men in their true colours; and how bitter and corroding to the conscience of an Historian to disguise or make them appear otherwise to the world, then they were in their first original.

To speak truth exactly is highly commendable in any man, especially in one that takes upon him to be a publick informer: to raze, to corrupt a Record is a crime of a very high nature, and by the laws of the Land most severely punishable. Histories are called *Testes temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoria*: and certainly he doth offend in an high degree, who shall either negligently suffer, or wilfully procure them to bring false evidence; that shall make them dark Lanthorns to give light but on the one side, or as *Ignes fatui*, to cause the Reader to wander from the truth, and vainly to follow false shadows, or the factious humour of the writers brain. To be false, to deceive, to ly, even in ordinary discourse, are vices commonly branded with much infamy, and held in great detestation by all good men. And therefore certainly those that arrive at such a height of impudency, as magisterially to take upon them, not only to abuse the present, but future ages, must needs render themselves justly odious. They stand responsible for other mens errors, and whereas in all other notorious offenders, their sin and their life determines at farthest together: the sin of these men is perpetuated after their decease, they speak when they are dead, make false infusions into every Age, and

*Memoires de
Monsieur
du Plessis,
fol. 45.*

*Cicero de
Orat.*

court every new person that shall many years after cast his eyes upon their story to give belief to their lyes. Therefore for my own part when I first undertook this task, I took up with it a resolution most clearly to declare the truth. I have cast up my accounts, I have set up my rest, and determine rather to displease any other man then offend my own conscience. I have neither private reflections, nor foreign ends; I am now as it were reduced into my first principles, and have taken this work upon me, meerly out of publick considerations. All that I aim at is, that there may remain for the benefit of this present age, as well as of posterity, some certain Records and Monuments of the first beginnings and fatal progress of this Rebellion, together with the horrid cruelties most unmercifully exercised by the *Irish* Rebels upon the *British*, and Protestants within this Kingdom of *Ireland*. That when Gods time is come of returning it into the bosoms of those who have been the first plotters or present Actors therein, and that Kingdom comes to be re-planted with *British*, and settled in peace again, (which I have even in our lowest condition, with great confidence attended, and do now most undoubtedly believe will ere long be brought to pass) there may be such a course taken, such provisions made, and such a wall of separation set up betwixt the *Irish* and the *British*, as it shall not be in their power to rise up (as now and in all former Ages they have done) to destroy and root them out in a moment, before they be able to put themselves into a posture of defence, or to gather together to make any considerable resistance against their bloody attempts.

I shall not pretend to entertain the Reader with political Maxims, grave Sentences, or flourishing Orations: That which I hope will cover over a multitude of imperfections, is the unquestionable truth of what I shall set down in a plain and brief narration of all the causes and proceedings held in the raising, as also in the first Counsels and undertakings for the suppression of this hideous Rebellion.

And

And that I might in some measure compass my design herein, and give satisfaction even to the most curious inquirers after truth, I did with great care and diligence turn over the very Originals or authentical Copies of the voluminous examinations remaining with the publick Register, and taken upon oath, by virtue of two several Commissions issued out under the Great Seal of this Kingdom, to examine the losses of the *British*, the cruelties and horrid murders committed by the *Irish* in the destruction of them. I have perused the publick dispatches, acts, and relations, as likewise the private Letters and particular discourses sent by the chief Gentlemen out of several parts of the Kingdom, to present unto the Lords Justices and Council the sad condition of their affairs. And having been made acquainted with all the most secret Passages and Counsels of the State, I have, as far as I could, without breach of trust, and as the duty of a Privy Councillour would admit, communicated so much of them as I conceived necessary and proper for publick information. And setting aside the particulars contained within the first Pages, leading on by way of introduction to the ensuing troubles, which I have taken up on trust out of the most approved Authors both ancient and modern, who have written the story of *Ireland*, I may confidently avow, that I have been so curious in gathering up my materials, and so careful in putting them together, as very few passages will be found here inserted which have not either fallen within the compass of my own knowledge, or that I have not received from those who were chiefly intrusted in matter of action abroad; or that came not to my hands attested under the oaths of credible witnesses, or clearly asserted in the voluntary confessions of the Rebels themselves.

Every man I believe will easily assent unto me, that out of these Fountains we may presume with most certainty to draw truth, and that if we bound our inquiries within this circuit, we may well hope to arrive at the true knowledge
of

of the main particular passages of this late Rebellion. And therefore though I shall not obtrude every thing as infallible, which by a strict and most severe inquisition I have taken upon the grounds before mentioned (considering how subject men are through forgetfulness and humane imbecillity to err in the ordinary course of their relations) yet thus much I suppose I may confidently say, that no man could imagine how to make collections with greater certainty, and more clear unquestionable probabilities of truth then I have here set down.

Now as for the examinations here mentioned, howsoever they were taken with all the care and circumspection that could possibly be used in so great a work, yet are they most commonly decried, and held by the *Irish* as very injurious to their Country-men. Thus much I shall be bold to aver and shall here speak it for the better authority and credit of the evidence brought in by them.

First, That as the Commissions for taking those examinations were after mature deliberation issued out by special order from the Lords Justices and Council; so they were in great wisdom designed by them for no other ends then to have some general account of the losses suffered by the *British*, and the cruelties exercised by the *Irish* upon them in the severall parts of the Kingdom. And this course was first set on foot in the very height of our troubles, when the fury of the Rebels so desperately raged, as they were in no condition to think of the attainting of their persons, and therefore onely aimed at the discovery of their treason. Out of which respect chiefly the Commissioners made choice of for the performance of this service, were six of the Clergy, all persons of known integrity; and such as by reason of their profession, would in all probability gently proceed on in their inquisitions, and truly set down the bloody Relations given in unto them. The persons examined were of several conditions, most of them *British*, some of *Irish* birth and ex-

traction

The PREFACE.

traction, very many of good quality, and such as were of inferiour rank were not rejected if they were known sufferers, and came freely in to declare what they could speak of their own knowledge. Few came but such as had been in the hands of the Rebels, and could with sorrowful hearts make the sad relation of their own miseries. And so they having been eye-witnesses, their depositions are for the most part out of their own knowledge; and what is given in by them upon hear-say, they for the most part depose, that they received it out of the Rebels own mouths while they were in restraint among them. Lastly, many of these miserable persons thus examined, came up wounded, others even almost famished; or so worn out with their sufferings, as they did not long outlive the date of their examinations: So as these testimonies being delivered in their last agonies, we are in charity to believe that they would leave behind them with all due circumstances, a clear attestation of such cruelties as they then bequeathed unto us with their last breath.

But it is not much to be wondered, if they who had it in design to destroy all the publick Records and ancient Monuments in the Kingdom, to banish both the English Law and Government, do so bitterly declaim against these evidences of their cruelty, and lively attestations given in to perpetuate the memory of them to their eternal infamy.

If they could imagine which way to silence, or by what means to blast the credit of these examinations thus solemnly taken, and prevail according to their most impetuous desires upon the late Treaty of Peace, to have all the indictments legally put in against the principal Re-

Mr. Creighton in his Examination deposeth, That he heard many bitter words cast out against the City of Dublin, That they would burn and ruine it, destroy all Records, and Monuments of the English government; Make Laws against speak-English, and that all names given by English to places, should be abolished, and the ancient names restored.

bels and their adherents, taken off the file and cancelled, they would not be out of hope, as these times now are to palliate their Rebellion with such specious pretences, as that their barbarous cruelties, acted beyond all parallel being forgotten, it should with great applause pass down to posterity, under the name of a holy and just war for the defence of the Catholick Cause.

And now in order to this design, they have taken all occasions to proclaim the huge pressures which they pretend to have suffered under the late government in *this* Kingdom, and spare not to term it tyrannical: they speak as if their oppressions might be parallel'd with the Israelitish envassalage in the Land of *Egypt*, and their persecutions for Religion equalled to those of the Primitive times. And then they further say, *That thereupon only some Catholicks, considering the deplorable and desperate condition they were in, and apprehending the plots laid to extinguish their Religion and Nation, did take armes in the North in maintenance of their Religion, and for the preservation of life, liberty, and estate; together with his Majesties rights. And that the Lords and Gentlemen dwelling within the English Pale, were likewise by the great rigour and severity used by the State towards them, enforced to take up armes for their own defence.*

A Remon-
strance of
grievances
presented
to his Maje-
sty in be-
half of the
Catholicks
of *Ireland*,
and given
in to his
Majesties
Commis-
sioners at
Trim,
March 17.
1642.

These are the expressions and the language used in the late Remonstrance given in to his Majesties Commissioners at *Trim*, to be presented to his Majesty in behalf of his Catholick Subjects in *Ireland*. Wherein there are pieced together so many vain inconsiderable fancies, many subsequent passages acted in the prosecution of the war, and such bold, notorious, false assertions, without any the least ground or colour of truth: as without all doubt they absolutely resolved, first, to raise this Rebellion, and then to set their Lawyers and Clergy on work, to frame such reasons and motives as might
with

with some colour of justification serve for arguments to defend it. And it is indeed, to speak plainly, a most infamous Pamphlet, full fraught with scandalous aspersions cast upon the present government, and his Majesties principal Officers of State within this Kingdom. It was certainly framed with most virulent intentions, not to present their condition and present sufferings to his Majesty, but that it might be dispersed to gain belief among foreign States abroad, as well as discontented persons at home; and so draw assistance and aid, to foment and strengthen their rebellious party in *Ireland*.

But I do not much wonder they should take thus upon them to abuse the world with such scurrilous discourses, and thereby endeavour to raise some ground or belief that they had just cause to enter into so desperate a Rebellion. This hath been an ordinary course ever held in all designs of this nature. And it is well observed by *Polybius*, that there are commonly to be found in all such great undertakings, *Causæ suasoriæ*, and *causæ justificæ*. The first, such as are the true natural causes and really first in the intention; the other, such as are most commonly obtruded to the world by way of cover and justification. Now as the nature of water is most clearly seen in the first Fountain, where it remains pure and unmixed, without any dross or soil that it afterwards contracts, as it passeth along in the streams derived from it: So certainly the quality of all humane actions is best understood, and most clearly discerned, when we look upon them as they appear in their first original, before the inconveniencies and fatal miscarriages which afterwards come to be discovered, awake the first Projectors, and teach them new artifices wherewith tho disguise and colour over their abortive, or otherwise unfortunate counsels. Now as for the true Suasorian causes (if I may so term them) which induced the Irish to lay the plot of this Rebellion, and were indeed really first in their thoughts, they will sufficiently appear in this ensuing Story.

The P R E F A C E.

And for the justifical reasons of their rising in armes, if any one hath a mind to take them up on trust from themselves, let him seek no further than the Remonstrance before mentioned; whereof much more is to be said than I shall give my self liberty to speak in this place: well knowing that those notorious untruths and wicked impostures contained in it when they come to the *test* will be quickly discovered, and the varnish they have put upon them soon fall away of it self.

If any one hath been ignorantly deluded hereby, and desires to be rectified in his own judgement, let him be pleased to turn over this ensuing Story,

Verum est index sui & obliqui:

There needs certainly no other confutation of their false and virulent suggestions, than a true impartial relation of the first beginnings and progress of this Rebellion: which for what was acted within the space of the first two months after the breaking out of it, I presume I may say without vanity, he shall certainly find here. It is true, I have principally applyed my self to give an account of what was done about *Dublin*, the chief City of this Kingdom, and the place where the Lords Justices and Council continued using their utmost power and endeavours to oppose the fury of the Rebels. Yet as all other parts of the Kingdom were under their government, and their care and counsels (as far as their general distractions would admit) extended to the whole, what was acted in all other places of the Countrey, comes properly to be touched upon, and the miserable condition of them to be represented in this following Story.

I shall not here trouble the Reader with any further Apology for my self, or with excuses for the multitude of my own imperfections, which will here appear in large Characters; and will be peradventure looked upon with a Multi-
plying

The P R E F A C E.

plying Glafs by those who are not pleased with what I have here exposed to publick view. I do not at all pretend to silence the bitter expressions of malevolent spirits: As I shall with great patience compose my self to bear the utmost that their malice can put upon me: So I shall be always ready with much meekness to submit to be reformed by any person whatsoever, who can make it appear, that I have either through ignorance or negligence (for I am sure wilful mistakes they will find none) miscarried in the relation of any particular here set down: Sins of ignorance found a very easie expiation under the Old Law, I will not say they had a pardon of course. But if I have so carried my self, as that no greater transgressions can be laid to my charge, I shall be much satisfied, and may peradventure be further encouraged to proceed on to a continuation of this Story, and therein to transmit down to posterity the noble achievements and great Victories already obtained by small numbers of the *English* forces over huge multitudes of these *Irish* Rebels.

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The



The Irish Rebellion:

OR,

An History of the beginnings, and first
progress of the general Rebellion raised within the
Kingdom of Ireland, in the Year 1641.

THE Kingdom of *Ireland* (which hath for almost five hundred years continued under the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*) was presently after the first conquest of it, planted with *English* Colonies, long since worn out, or for the most part become *Irish*. And therefore it hath again in this last Age been supplied with great numbers of people drawn out of *England* and *Scotland*, to settle their habitations in that Country. Now the most execrable plot laid by the *Irish*, for the universal extirpation of all these *British* and *Protestants*, the bloody progress of their Rebellion within the compass of the first two months; their horrid cruelties, in most barbarously murdering, or otherwise destroying many thousands of men, women and children, peaceably settled, and securely intermixed among them, and that without any provocation, or considerable resistance at first made, I intend shall be the present subject of the first Part of this ensuing Story.

The *Irish* want not many fabulous inventions to magnify the very first beginnings of their Nation. Whether the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, *Africans*, *Goths*, or some other more Eastern Nation that anciently inhabited *Spain*, came and sate down first in *Ireland*, I shall not much trouble my self here to enquire. If we should give credit to the *Irish* Chronicles, or their Bards

The original
of the *Irish*.

(who deliver no certain truths) we might find stuff enough for an ancient pedigree, made up out of a most various strange compofure of the Irish Nation. But to let them pass, there are certainly a concurrence of divers manners and customs, such affinity of several of their words and names, and so great resemblance of many long used rites, and still retained ceremonies as do give us some ground to believe that they do not improbably deduce their first original from some of those people. It may very well be conjectured (for infallible Records I find none) that as the Eastern parts

* Toole of the old Brittain word Toll, a hill-country. Birne, of Brin, woods.

Cauvenagh of Cauve strong. The view of Ireland by Spencer. f. 33.

** Ireland is often called Scotia major among ancient writers.

Ireland anciently divided into divers petty principalities.

Uti reges non fuerunt ordinati solemnitate alicujus ordinis, nec unctionis sacramento, nec jure hereditario, sed aliqui proprietatem successione, sed vi & armis quilibet regnum suum obtinuit.

The black book of Christchurch in Dublin, it is an ancient Manuscript kept there.

The first enterprise of the English upon Ireland made by private adventurers.

of Ireland, bordering upon England were first planted by the old Britains: * Toole, Birne, & Cauvenagh the ancient Septs, and still inhabitants of that part of the Country, being old British words. And as the Northern parts of Ireland were first inhabited by the Scythians, from whom it was called ** Scytenland, or Scotland: So the Southern and more Western parts thereof were peopled from the Maritime parts of Spain, being the next continent, not by the now Spanish Nation, who are strangely compounded of a different admixture of several people: But as I said, peradventure by the Gauls, who anciently inhabited all the Sea-coasts of Spain, the Syrians, or some other of those more Eastern Nations, who intermixing with the natural Inhabitants of that Country, made a transmigration into Ireland, and so settled some Colonies there.

The whole Kingdom of Ireland was divided into divers petty principalities, and of later times there were five principal Chieftains, viz. Mac-Morrough of Leinster, Mac-Cartye of Munster, O Neal of Ulster, O Connor of Conaght, & O Malaghtin of Meath. For such were the Irish denominations, and I do not find they were called Kings till about the time of the coming over of the English, Giraldus Cambrensis who came into Ireland in the time of Hen. 2. of England, being the first writer that gives them that Title. Besides, as they came not in either by hereditary right or lawful Election, so their Investiture was solemnized neither by unction, or Coronation, they made their way by the Sword, had certain kinds of barbarous ceremonies used at their Inauguration, kept up their power with a high hand, and held the people most monstrously enslaved to all the savage customs practised under their dominion. And thus they continued until the Reign of Hen. 2. King of England in whose time the undertakings for the Conquest of Ireland were successfully made by most powerful, though private adventurers upon this occasion.

Dermott Mac-Morrough, King of Leinster (being by the Kings of Conaght & Meath enforced to flee his country) made his repair directly to Hen. 2. King of England, then personally attending his Wars in France, and with much earnestness implored his aid for the recovery of his territories in Ireland, most injuriously, as he pretended, wrested out

of

of his hands. The King refused to imbarque himself in this quarrel: yet graciously recommended the justice of his cause to all his loving Subjects, and by his Letters Patents assured them that whosoever would afford the said *Mac-Morough* assistance towards his resettlement, should not onely have free liberty to transport their Forces, but be held to do very acceptable service therein. Hereupon Earle *Strangebow* first engaging himself, determined as a private Adventurer to endeavour his restitution with the utmost forces he could raise, he lying then very conveniently at *Bristol*, where *Mac-Morough* came unto him, in his passage back from the King into *Ireland*; There were certain conditions agreed upon between them, and a transaction made by *Mac-Morough* of his Kingdom of *Lemster* unto the Earl, upon his marriage with his onely daughter *Eva*. And so he being desirous to return speedily into his own Country, passed to *St. Davids* in *South-Wales*, from whence is the shortest passage out of *England* into *Ireland*, and there he further engaged *Fitz-Stephen* and *Fitz-Gerald*, private Gentlemen, in this service: These, by their power among their Country-men in those parts, having gotten together a party of 490 men, transported them in three ships into *Ireland*, landing at the *Banne*, a little Creek near *Featherd* in the county of *Wexford*, and there joyning with some Forces brought unto them by *Mac-Morough*, made their first attempt upon the town of *Wexford*, they were gallantly seconded by Earl *Strangebow*, who followed presently after with no very considerable forces: and yet by the power of their arms, within a very short time prevailed so far in the Country, as they made themselves masters thereof, and so gained the possession of all the maritime parts of *Lemster*.

King *Henry* upon the news of their prosperous success in the sudden reducement of so large a territory by such inconsiderable forces as they carried with them; desirous to share with his subjects in the rich fruits, as well as in the glory of so great an action, undertook an expedition in his own person into *Ireland* the year following. And so strange an influence had the very presence of this great Prince into the minds of the rude savage Natives, as partly by the power of his arms, partly by his grace and favour in receiving of them in upon their fained submissions most humbly tendred unto him, he easily subdued a barbarous divided people.

The first beginnings of the Conquest of this Kingdom were thus gloriously laid by this King, in the year of our Lord 1172. Now for the Land it self, he found it good and flourishing with many excellent commodities, plentiful in all kinds of provision, the Soil rich and fertile, the Air sweet and temperate, the Havens very safe and commodious, several Towns and little Villages scattered up and down in the several parts of the Country; but the Buildings so poor and contemptible, as when that King arrived at

*Se nostram ad
hoc tam gra-
tiam novem
quam licen-
tiam obtinere.
Gir. Cam-
bren. expu-
gnat. Hib. c. 1.*

Cambr. cap. 8.

*K. Henry the
2. his expedi-
tion into Ire-
land. An. 1172*

Reg. Hoveden
calls it Pala-
tium regium
miro artificio
de virgulis levigatis ad mo-
dum patrie
illius constru-
ctum, fol. 528.

Christian
Religion set-
tled in Ireland.

By Sedulius,
Palladius, Pa-
tricius, in the
fourth age af-
ter the birth
of our Savi-
our.

Rex Anglo-
rum Hen. nun-
cios solennes
Romam mit-
tens rogavit
Papam Adria-
num ut sibi li-
ceret Hibernia
Insulam intra-
re, & terram
subjugare at-
que homines
illos bestiales
ad fidem, &
viam reducere
veritatis. Mat.
Paris. An.
1156.

Dublin their chief City, and finding there neither place fit for receipt or entertainment, he set up a long house made of smoothed wattles after the manner of the Country, and therein kept his Christmas. All their Forts, Castles, stately buildings and other edifices were afterwards erected by the English, except some of their maritime towns which were built by the *Ostmanni* or *Easterlings* who anciently came and inhabited in Ireland.

Moreover, He found likewise by several mounments of piety, and other remarkable testimonies, that Christian Religion had been long since introduced and planted among the inhabitants of the Land. It is not certainly without some good grounds affirmed by ancient writers, That in the Fourth age after the incarnation of our blessed Lord and Saviour, some holy and learned men came over out of Foreign parts into Ireland, out of their pious desire to propogate the blessed Gospel throughout the Kingdom, as *Sedulius*, *Palladius*, and besides several others *Patricius* the famous Irish Saint, (A Britain born at a place now called *Kirck-Patrick* near *Glas-cow* in Scotland, then the utmost boundary of the Britains dominion in those parts) who out of meer devotion came and spent much of their time among the *Irish*, and out of their zealous affections for the conversion of a barbarous people, applied themselves with great care and industry to the instructing of them in the true grounds and principles of Christian Religion, And with so great success, and such unwearied endeavours did *S. Patrick* travail in this work, as (if we will give credit to some writers) we must believe that the Church of *Armagh* was by him erected into an Archiepiscopal See, three hundred and fifty Bishops consecrated, great numbers of Clergy-men instituted, who (notwithstanding the notorious impiety and continued prophaneſs of the common sort of people) being most of them Monks by vow and profession, of great learning, very austere and strict in their discipline, were so much taken notice of in those rude ignorant times, by other Nations, as in respect of them some gave unto the Island the denomination of *Insula Sanctorum*. But so quickly did the power of holiness decay in the land, as the name was soon lost, and even the very prints and characters thereof among the very Clergy themselves obliterated; the life of the people so beastly, their manners so depraved and barbarous, as that King *Henry*, when he entertained the first thoughts of transferring his Arms over into Ireland, made suit unto the Pope, that he would give him leave to go and conquer Ireland, and reduce those beastly men unto the way of truth: Answerable whereunto was the tenor of Pope *Adrians* Bull, as appears at large in *Parisiensis*, whereby he gave him liberty to go over and subdue the *Irish* Nation. A sufficient demonstration of the condition of that people, and what opinion was held of them, as well by their holy Father the Pope, as other Princes. And the King at his arrival

arrival found them no other then a beastly people indeed. For the Inhabitants were generally devoid of all manner of civility, governed by no settled laws, living like beasts, biting and devouring one another, without all rules, customs, or reasonable constitutions either for regulation of Property, or against open force and violence, most notorious murders, rapes, robberies, and all other acts of inhumanity and barbarism, raging without controul or due course of punishment. Whereupon, He, without any manner of scruple, or farther inquisition into particular titles, resolving as it seems to make good by the sword the Popes donation, made a general seizure of all the lands of the whole Kingdom, and so without other ceremony took them all into his own hands.

And that he might the more speedily introduce Religion and civility, and so draw on towards the accomplishment of that great work which he had so gloriously begun, he first, in a great Council held at *Liffemore*, caused the Laws of *England* to be received and settled in *Ireland*, then he afterwards united it to the Imperial Crown of *England*, making large distributions to his followers by particular grants, allotting out in great proportions the whole Land of *Ireland* among the *English* Commanders, who made estates, and gave several shares to their friends and commilitants that came over private adventurers with them. But before I pass further, I shall take the liberty here to insert one observation out of *Giraldus Cambrensis* concerning the causes and reasons of the prosperity of the *English* undertakings in *Ireland*. He saith that a Synod, or Council of the Clergy, being there assembled at *Armagh*, and that point fully debated, it was unanimously agreed by them all, that the sins of the people were the occasion of that heavy judgment then fallen upon their Nation, and that especially their buying of *English* men from Merchants and Pirates, and detaining them under a most miserable hard bondage, had caused the Lord by way of just retaliation, to leave them to be reduced by the *English* to the same slavery. Whereupon they made a publique act in that Council, that all the *English* held in captivity throughout the whole Land, should be presently restored to their former liberty. If so heavy a Judgement fell then upon the *Irish* for their hard usage of some few *English*, what are they now to expect? or what expiation can they now pretend to make for the late effusion of so much innocent *English* blood, after so horrid, despicable and execrable a manner? There being since the Rebellion first brake out, unto the time of the Cessation made Sept. 15. 1643. which was not full two years after, above 300000. *British* & *Protestants* cruelly murdered in cold blood, destroyed some otherway, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the strictest conjecture and computation, of those who seemed best to understand the

Rex antequam ab Hibernia redibat concilium congregavit apud Liffemore, ubi leges Anglia ab omnibus gra- center sunt acceptae & juratoria cautione praestita confirmata. Mat. Paris. An.

1172. *Ireland divided by K. Hen. 2. among his followers, and other adventurers.*

Decretum est itaque praedito concilio, cum universitatis consensu publice Statutum: ut Angli ubique per insulam servitutis vinculo mancipati in pristinam revertentur libertatem. Gir. Camb. expug. Hib. cap. 18. The numbers of British & Protestants destroyed since the Rebellion.

numbers of *English* planted in *Ireland*, besides those few which perished in the heat of Fight, during the war.

The fruitless
expeditions
of K. John,
& K. Richard
2. into Ire-
land.

King *John* came into *Ireland* during his minority, though to little purpose, but after, about the twelfth year of his Reign, upon the general defection of the *Irish*, he made a Second expedition, and during his stay there, built several Forts and strong Castles, many of which remain unto this day, he erected all the Courts of Judicature, and contributed very much towards the settlement of the *English* Colonies, as also of the civil Government. King *Richard* the Second made likewise in the time of his Reign, upon the same occasion two other expeditions into *Ireland* in his own person. But both those Princes out of a desire to spare the effusion of *English* blood, as also the expence of treasure, being likewise hastned back by the distempers of their own Subjects in *England*, were both content to suffer themselves to be again abused by the fained Submissions of the *Irish*, who finding their own weakness, and utter disability to resist the power of those two mighty Monarchs, came with all humility even from the farthest parts of the Kingdom, to submit to their mercy: And yet it is well observed by some that say they returned back, not leaving one true subject more behind them, then they found at their first arrival. Howsoever by the very presence of these Princes, and by the careful endeavours of the Governours sent over by order of the Kings of *England*, those that were Adventurers in the first Conquest, and such other of the *English* Nation as came over afterwards took possession by virtue of the former grants of the whole Kingdom, drove the *Irish* in a manner out of all the habitable parts of it, and settled themselves in all the plains and fertile places of the Country, especially in the chief Towns, Ports, and upon the Sea-coasts. And to such a height of power and greatness had some of those first Adventuring Commanders raised themselves here by reason of the addition of new titles of honour, the unlimited jurisdictions and priviledges enjoyed by them, the great rents they received, the numerous dependance they had, As that they began to look upon their own possessions as circumscribed within too narrow limits, to entertain private animosities against each other, to draw in the *Irish* (whom they had driven up into the mountains, and ever esteemed as their most deadly enemies) to take part in their quarrels, being not ashamed to use their assistance for the enlargement of their own private territories, as also to curb the too exorbitant power, as they thought, of their opposites, though their own compatriots and jointenants in the possession of that good land. The *Irish* were very glad to entertain this occasion and did ever foment by their utmost power and artifice these unnatural broils and dissensions among the *English*, whom they most mortally hated: For they living in

The ancient
malice of the
Irish to the
English.

a manner

a manner out of the reach, as well as out of the protection of all the *English* Laws and Government, were always accounted not only as aliens, but meer enemies; And besides those *Septs* of *Irish* which were termed the *Quinque familiae* (who notwithstanding the great privileges they enjoyed by the protection of the *English* Laws, ever shewed much averfeness both to the *English*, and their Laws) No other persons of any *Irish* families, from the very first conquest of *Ireland* in the time of *Hen. 2.* until the reign of King *Hen. 8.* were admitted into the condition of Subjects, or received any benefit by the *English* Laws, but such as purchased Charters of Denization. It was no capital offence to kill any of them, the Law did neither protect their life, nor revenge their death. And so they living upon the mountains in the bogs and woods, though at first after some sort divided from the *English*, did take all occasions to declare their malice and hatred against the *English colonies* planted near unto them.

But howsoever the *English* were, in all ages infested with their *Irish* enemies, yet were they certainly in point of interest and Universal possession, Owners, and Proprietors of the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*: They kept themselves in entire bodies almost for the first hundred years after their arrival, not suffering the *Irish* to live promiscuously among them, by which means they failed not to make good their footing, and by a high hand to keep them under in due obedience and subjection to the Crown of *England*. And when afterwards they began to be more careless of their habitation, and to suffer the *Irish* to intermingle with them, and their *English* followers to familiarize themselves into their beastly manners and customs (for prevention of which mischief, many severe Laws were enacted in after ages) yet for some time they made good the rights and possessions they had gotten by conquest, and went on, endeavouring to civilize the people, introducing the *English* Laws, language, habit, and customs long used among them. Now although these, and all other courses were taken by them, which might reclaim such as seemed any ways inclinable to civility, or would take out Charters of Denization: yet such ever was, and still is the rough rebellious disposition of the people, their hatred so implacable, their malice so unappeaseable to all the *English* Nation, as no Laws or gentle Constitutions would work, no publick benefits attemper, or any tract of time reconcile and draw them to any tolerable patience of cohabitation; But they have in all times continued to take all advantages, as well since they were admitted into the condition of Subjects, as while they were esteemed and treated as enemies, most perfidiously to rise up and imbrue their hands in the blood of their *English* neighbours: So as *Ireland* hath long remained a true *Aceldama*, a field of blood, an unsatiated sepulchre of the *English* Nation. For what by

reason

Quinque familiae. O Neale
de Ultonia.
O Malahylin
de Melm.
O Connors de
Conacia.
O Brien de
Thomondia.
Mac-Morung
de Lagenia.

By the Statutes made at
Kilkenny by
Lionel Duke
of Clarence,
L. Lieutenant of
Ireland in the
time of *Edw. 3.* Alliance
by marriage,
nupture of
Infants, and
gossipred
with the *Irish*
are high treason.
And if
any *English*
man should
use the *Irish*
language,
Irish name,
or *Irish* apparel,
his
lands should
be seized on,
& if he had
no lands, he
was to suffer
imprisonment.
Archib. in
castro Dublin
Statutes of
Kilkenny.

In that space of time which was between the 10. year of *Edw. 2.* and the 30. year of *Edw. 3.* all the old English colonies in *Munster*, *Conaght* and *Ulster*, and more than a Third part of *Leinster* became degenerate, & fell away from the Crown of *England*, so as the English Pale remained only under the obedience of the Law.

The Royal endeavours of *Queen Elizabeth* for the reducing of *Ireland*.

* The Lands belonging to the *Irish* were divided into several territories & the Inhabitants in every *Irish*

Country were divided into several *Septs* or Lineages. ----- In every *Irish* Country there was a Lord or Chieftain, and a Tanist, which was his successor apparent. None could be chosen Tanist, but one issued out of one of the chief *Septs*.----- The Seignory and Lands belonging to the chief Lord, did not descend from Father to Son, or upon default of issue to him that was next of kin: But he that was most active, of greatest power, and had most followers, always caused himself to be chosen Tanist; and if he could not compass his desires by gentle means, then he used open force and violence; and so being declared as it were heir apparent, came into possession upon the death of the chief Lord.----- Now for the inferior *Septs*, they held their lands at the will of the chief Lord, after a sort; For after the death of every one of his Tenants which held any land under him, he assembled the whole *Septs*, and having put all their possessions together in hotch potch, made a new partition among them, not assigning to the Son of him that died, the land held by his Father, but altering every mans possession at his own pleasure, and according to his own discretion: he, upon the death of every inferior Tenant, made a general remove, and so allotted to every one of the *Sept* such part as he thought fit. And this was the *Irish* Gavelkind. Sir *John Davies* Rep. fol. 49.

reason of their own intestine broiles, after they had (as soon they did, when they began to admit the intermixture of the *Irish*) most barbarously degenerate into all their manners and customs; and what by reason of the cruel hatred and mischievous attempts of the *Irish* upon them: We shall not find that the English, from their first access into *Ireland*, unto the beginning of the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, (a tract of time containing above 380. years) had any settled peace or comfortable subsistence, but were in most perpetual combustions and troubles, so extremely harassed and overworn with misery, as they were not long likely to survive the universal calamity that had overspread the face of the whole Kingdom.

Whereupon that blessed *Queen*, out of her pious intentions, and good affections to her people, applied her self with great care to redress the disorders of her Subjects in *Ireland*. And in the very beginning of her Reign, sending over prudent and religious Governours, the work of Reformation was much advanced, by many wholesom Laws enacted against the barbarous customs of the *Irish*; and the execution of Justice (which a long time continued within the limits of the Pale) began now to be extended into *Conaght*; *Ulster* and other remote parts of the Land at some intervals of quiet times. The *Irish* Countries were reduced into Shires, and Sheriffs with some other Ministers of Justice placed in them: The pretended Captainships, and those high powers usurped by the *Irish*, together with all the extortions, and other fearful exorbitancies incident to them, were now put into such a way of declination, as they could not long continue. Seignories and Possessions were settled in a due course of inheritance; those most destructive customs of **Tanestry* and *Gavelkind* began to be depressed; The two Presidential Courts of *Munster* and *Conaght* were then instituted, and special order taken that Free-schools might be erected in the several Diocesses throughout the Kingdom, for the better training up of Youth. But these acts, and other courses tending to the advancement of true Religion, and Civility, were highly displeasing, and most incompatible with the loose humours of the Natives,

who apprehended even the most gentle means of reformation, as sharp corroding medicines; And thereupon pretending the burthen of the *English* government most insupportable, began desperately to struggle for their liberty. Several plots were laid, some even by those who were themselves of the old *English* by extraction: divers Rebellions and petty Revolts raised during Her Majesties most happy reign: That of *Shan O Neal*, the Earl of *Desmond*, Viscount *Baltinglas*, *O Rurke*, and several others at other times, were all set on foot for this very end, and all timely suppressed, partly by the power of the Queens forces, partly by her gracious favour in receiving the Chieftains to mercy. And she, as most unwearied with their never ceasing provocations, still went on with all gentle applications and lenitives, for the withdrawing of the people from their barbarous customs: As, several of the great Lords who had been out in Rebellion, were restored to their lands and possessions, others she suffered to enjoy their Commands in the Country, upon others she bestowed new titles of Honour. And being very unwilling to put the Kingdom of *England* to such an excessive charge, as the full conquest of *Ireland* would most necessarily require; no fair means were left untried, that could minister any hopes of civilizing the people, or settling the present distractions of the Kingdom.

But all was in vain; the matter then wrought upon was not susceptible of any such noble forms, those ways were heterogeneous, and had no manner of influence upon the perverse dispositions of the *Irish*: the malignant impressions of irreligion and barbarism, transmitted down, whether by infusion from their ancestors, or natural generation, had irrefragably stiffened their necks, and hardened their hearts against all the most powerful endeavours of Reformation: They continued one and the same in all their wicked customs and inclinations, without change in their affections or manners, having their eyes enflamed, their hearts enraged with malice and hatred against all of the *English* Nation, breathing forth nothing but their ruine, destruction, and utter extirpation.

And that they might at once dis-impester themselves of their displeasing company, and disburthen the whole kingdom of them and their posterity, they still entertained new thoughts, and had now brought unto perfection a design long meditated in their breasts, whereby they resolved at once clearly to rescue and deliver themselves from their subjection to the Crown of *England*. And this was that desperate Rebellion raised almost through the whole Kingdom, by *Hugh* Earl of *Tyron*, who after titles of Honour, received a Command given by the Queen unto him both of Horse and Foot in her Pay, great proportions of Land, and other Princely favours conferred upon him; Resolving at once to cancel all those Royal obligations of

Nonnulli ex
claris in Lage-
nie familiis &
plerique An-
glicæ originis
partim ex Ro-
mane religio-
nis studio,
partim ex odio
recentium
Anglorum,
conspirare cœ-
perant ad pro-
regem, cum
familia appri-
mendum, ca-
strum Dubli-
nense interci-
piendum,
& Anglos in
Hibernia ad
unum è medio
tollendos Cam-
den. Eliz.
An. 22.

The Irish.
not to be re-
claimed by
gentle
means.

Tyrones rebel-
lion.

gratitude and fidelity, broke out and drew along with him most of all the Irish Septs and Families, together with many degenerate *English* throughout the Kingdom, into rebellion against his most gracious undoubted Sovereign. And these all, as being universally actuated with the venomous infusions of his malevolent spirit, uniting their whole interests and forces into a firm conjuncture with him, raised all their dependants, and moved in several places according to the several orders and directions they received from him: and to fill up the full measure of his iniquity, he drew in a foreign Nation at the same time with considerable Forces to invade the Land.

The ill effects
of the sub-
missions of
the *Irish*.

So as the Queen now found by woful experience, that *Ireland* was no longer to be dallied with, one Rebellion still begot another, and this last was more dangerous than any of the former, it being more deeply rooted, more generally spread within the Kingdom, more powerfully fomented from without. She well discerned how much her great clemency had been abused in suffering former rebellions to be smothered over and loosely pieced up with protections and pardons; that the receiving of the *Irish* upon their submissions, to avoid the charge of a war, did inevitably redouble the charge, and perpetuate the miseries of war: therefore she now resolved no longer to trifle with them, but vigorously to set to the work, and making choice of some of her most renowned English Commanders, committed to their charge the conduct of an Army Royal, compleatly armed, and well paid, wherewith they began the prosecution of that Arch-traitour *Tyron*, and with great success in a short time, though not without the expence of much *English* blood, and above a million of money, brought him upon his knees: And howsoever before this glorious work was fully accomplished, it pleased God to put a period to her days, yet lived she long enough to see just vengeance brought down upon the head of that unnatural disturber of the peace of the Kingdom, himself in a manner wholly deserted, his Country most miserably wasted, and a general desolation and famine brought in, mightily consuming what was left undevoured by the sword.

The miserable
condition
of *Ireland*
when K.
James came
to the Crown
of *England*.

It is very easie to conjecture in what a most miserable condition *Ireland* then was, the *English* Colonies being for the most part barbarously rooted out, the remainders degenerated into Irish manners and names, the very *Irish* themselves most mightily wasted and destroyed by the late wars, and thereby much of the Kingdom depopulated, in every place large monuments of calamity and undiscontinued troubles. King *James* of blessed memory found it, at his first accession to the Crown of *England*, in this deplorable estate; whereupon he presently took into his care the peaceable settlement of *Ireland*, and civilizing of the people: And conceiving that the powerful conjunction of *England* & *Scotland* would now over-aw the *Irish*, and contain them in their due obedience, He resolved not to take

any

any advantage of those forfeitures and great confiscations which he was most justly intitled unto by *Tyron's* Rebellion; but out of his Royal bounty and Princely magnificence, restored all the Natives to the entire possession of their own lands. A work most munificent in it self, and such as he had reason to believe would for the time to come perpetually oblige their obedience to the Crown of *England*. And in this state the Kingdom continued under some indifferent terms of peace and tranquility, until the sixth year of his Reign: Then did the Earl of *Tyron* take up new thoughts of rising in arms, and into his Rebellious design he easily drew the whole Province of *Ulster*, then entirely at his devotion; But his plot failed, and he finding himself not able to get together any considerable forces, he with the principal of his adherents, quitting the Kingdom, fled into *Spain*, leaving some busy incendiaries to foment those beginnings he had laid for a new Rebellion in *Ireland* and promising speedily to return well attended with foreign succours to their aid: But by the great blessing of Almighty God upon the wise Counsels of that King, and the careful endeavours of his vigilant Ministers, the distempers occasioned by the noise of that commotion were soon allayed, and *Tyron* never returning, the peace of the Kingdom much confirmed and settled. King *James* hereupon being now so justly provoked by the high ingratitude of those Rebellious Traitors, caused their persons to be attainted, their lands to be seized, and those six Counties within the Province of *Ulster* which belonged unto them, to be surveyed, and all (except some small parts of them reserved to gratify the well-affected Natives) to be distributed in certain proportions among *British* undertakers, who came over and settled themselves and many other *British* families in those parts: By this means the foundations of some good Towns, soon after encompassed with stone-walls, were presently laid, several Castles and Houses of strength built in several parts of the Country, great numbers of *British* inhabitants there settled, to the great comfort and security of the whole Kingdom. And the same course was taken likewise for the better assurance of the peace of the Country, in the plantation of several pars of *Lemster*, where the *Irish* had made incursions, and violently expelled the old *English* out of their possessions. But howsoever the King was by due course of Law justly intitled to all their whole estates there; yet he was graciously pleased to take but one fourth part of their Lands, which was delivered over likewise into the hands of *British* undertakers, who with great cost and much industry planted themselves so firmly as they became of great security to the Country, and were a most especial means to introduce civility in those parts: so as now the whole Kingdom began exceedingly to flourish in costly buildings, and all manner of improvements, the people to multiply and increase, and the very *Irish* seemed to be much

His lenity
towards the
Irish rebels,
and his en-
deavours for
a civil refor-
mation.

satisfied with the benefits of that peaceable Government, and general tranquillity which they so happily enjoyed.

K. Charles,
great readi-
ness to re-
dress the
grievances
presented un-
to him by
the Irish
Commission-
ers, 1640.

The Lords.
L. Vicount
Gormanston,
L. Vicount
Kilmalee,
L. Vicount
Castelo,
L. Vicount
Baltinagar.

Comment.
Lemster.
Nic. Plunket,
Digby,
Richard Bit-
garret, Nic.
Barnewall,
Elq;

Munster.
Sir Hudress
Waller, Jo.
W. lib. Sir
Donough
Mac-Carti.

Conaght.
Robert Linch,
Giffy Brown,
Thomas Bark.

Ulster.
Sir William
Cole, Sir Ja-
mes Mongo-
mery.

Sir W. B. Par-
sons & Sir
John Borlace
made L. Ju-
stices.
They apply
themselves
to give con-
tentment to
the people.

AND now of late such was the great indulgence of K. Charles our So-
vereign that now reigneth, to his Subjects of *Ireland*, as that in the
year 1640. upon their complaints, and a general Remonstrance sent over
unto him from both Houses of Parliament then sitting at *Dublin*, by a
Committee of four temporal Lords of the upper house, and twelve Mem-
bers of the house of Commons, with instructions to represent the heavy
pressures they had for some time suffered under the Government of the Earl
of *Strafford*, He took their grievances into his royal consideration, de-
scended so far to their satisfaction, as that he heard them himself and made
present provisions for their redress: And upon the decease of Mr. *Wands-
ford*, Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, and then Lord Deputy here under
the said Earl of *Strafford*, who still continued Lord Lieutenant of this
Kingdom (though then accused of high treason, and imprisoned in the
Tower of *London*, by the Parliament of *England*) His Majesty sent a
Commission of Government to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny West*, and Sir
Williams Parsons Knight and Baronet, Master of the Wards in *Ireland*, Yet
soon after finding the choice of the Lord *Dillon* to be much disgusted by
the Committee, he did at their motion cause the said Commission to be
cancelled, and with their consent and approbation placed the government
upon Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Borlace* Knight, Master of the
Ordinance, both esteemed persons of great integrity; and the Master of
the Wards, by reason of his very long continued employment in the State,
his particular knowledge of the Kingdom, much valued and well beloved
among the people. They took the sword upon the 9. of *Febr.* 1640.
And in the first place they applied themselves with all manner of gentle leni-
tives to mollify the sharp humours raised by the rigid passages in the former
government. They declared themselves against all such proceedings lately
used, as they found any ways varying from the Common Law; They
gave all due encouragement to the Parliament then sitting, to endeavour
the reasonable ease and contentment of the people, freely assenting to all
such Acts as really tended to a legal reformation: They betook themselves
wholly to the advice of the Council, and caused all matters as well of the
Crown, as Popular interest, to be handled in His Majesties Courts of
Justice, no ways admitting the late exorbitancies (so bitterly decried in
Parliament) of Paper-petitions or Bills, in Civil causes, to be brought be-
fore them at the Council-board, or before any other by their authority:
They, by His Majesties gracious directions, gave a way to the Parliament
to abate the Subsidies (there given in the E. of *Strafford's* time, and then in
collection) from 40000. li. each Subsidy, to 12000. li. apiece, so low did
they

they thinck fit to reduce them: And they were further content (because they saw His Majesty most absolutely resolved to give the *Irish* Agents full satisfaction) to draw up two Acts to be passed in the Parliament, most impetuously desired by the Natives; The one was the Act of *Limitations*, which unquestionably settled all estates of land in the Kingdom, quietly enjoyed without claim or interruption for the space of sixty years immediately preceding; The other was for the relinquishment of the right and title which His Majesty had to the four Counties in *Conaght*, legally found for him by several inquisitions taken in them, and ready to be disposed of, upon a due survey, to *British* undertakers; as also to some territories of good extent in *Munster*, and the County of *Clare*, upon the same title.

Thus was the present Government most sweetly tempered, and carried on with great lenity and moderation; the Lords Justices and Council, wholly departing from the rigour of former courses, did gently unbend themselves into a happy and just compliance with the seasonable desires of the people. And His Majesty, that he might further testify his own settled resolution for the continuation thereof with the same tender hand over them, having first given full satisfaction in all things to the said Committee of Parliament still attending their dispatch, did about the later end of *May*, 1641. declare *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. He was heir to Sir *Philip Sidney* his Uncle, as well as to Sir *Hen. Sidney* his Grandfather, who with great honour and much integrity long continued chief Governour of *Ireland* during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and being a person of excellent abilities by nature, great acquisitions from his own private industry and publique employment abroad, of exceeding great temper and moderation, was never engaged in any publique pressures of the common wealth, and therefore most likely to prove a just and gentle Governour, most pleasing and acceptable to the people.

Moreover, the *Romish* Catholicks now privately enjoyed the free exercise of their religion throughout the whole Kingdom, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. They had by the over great indulgence of the late Governours, their titular Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars general, Provincial consistories, Deans, Abbots, Priors, Nuns, who all lived freely, though somewhat covertly among them, and without control exercised a voluntary jurisdiction over them, they had their Priests, Jesuits, and Fryars, who were of late years exceedingly multiplied, and in great numbers returned out of *Spain*, *Italy* and other forreign parts, where the Children of the Natives of *Ireland* that way devoted, were sent usually to receive their educations. And these without any manner of restraint, had quietly settled themselves in all the chief Towns, Villages, Noblemen and

The Earl of
Leicester de-
clared Lord
Lieutenant
of *Ireland*,
May, 1641.

The Papiſts
permitted
privately to
enjoy the
free exercise
of their reli-
gion.

private Gentlemens houses throughout the Kingdom. So as the private exercise of all their religious rites, and ceremonies was freely enjoyed by them without any manner of disturbance, and not any of the Laws put in execution, whereby heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon transgressours in that kind.

The good agreement betwixt the *Irish* & *English* in all parts of the Kingdom.

And for the ancient animosities and hatred which the *Irish* had been ever observed to bear unto the *English* Nation, they seemed now to be quite deposited and buried in a firm conglutination of their affections and National obligations passed between them. The two Nations had now lived together 40. years in peace, with great security and comfort, which had in a manner consolidated them into one body, knit and compacted together with all those bonds and ligatures of friendship, alliance, and consanguinity as might make up a constant and perpetual Union betwixt them. Their intermarriages were frequent, gossipred, fostering (relations of much dearness among the *Irish*) together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood, and service interchangeably passed among them. Nay, they had made as it were a kind of mutual transmigration into each others manners, many *English* being strangely degenerated into *Irish* affections and customs; and many *Irish*, especially of the better sort, having taken up the *English* language, apparel, and decent manner of living in their private houses. And so great an advantage did they find by the *English* commerce and cohabitations in the profits and high improvements of their Lands and Native commodities, so incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, or could expect to raise by their own proper industry, as Sir *Phelim O'Neal*, and many others of the prime-leaders in this rebellion, had not long before turned their *Irish* tenants of their lands, as some of them said to me (when I enquired the reason of their so doing) even to starve upon the mountains, while they took on *English*, who were able to give them much greater rents, and more certainly pay the same. A matter that was much taken notice of, and esteemed by many, as most highly conducing to the security of the *English* interests, and plantation among them. So as all these circumstances duly weighed, together with the removal of the late obstructions, the great increase of trade, and many other evident Symptoms of a flourishing Common-wealth, it was believed even by the wisest and best experienced in the affairs of *Ireland*, that the peace and tranquility of the Kingdom was now fully settled, and most likely in all humane probability to continue, without any considerable interruption, in the present felicity and great prosperity it now enjoyed under the government of His Majesty that now reigneth.

The Parliament adjourned Aug. 1641.

In *August*, 1641. the Lords Justices and Council finding the Popish party in both Houses of Parliament to be grown to so great a height, as was scarcely

scarcely compatible with the present Government, were very desirous to have an Adjournment made for three months, which was readily assented unto and performed by the members of both Houses. And this was done not many days before the return of the Committee formerly mentioned; out of *England*: They arrived at *Dublin* about the latter end of *August*, and presently after their return they applied themselves to the Lords Justices and Council, desiring to have all those Acts and others Graces granted by His Majesty, made known unto the people by proclamations to be sent down into several parts of the Country; which while the Lords Justices took into their consideration, and sat daily composing of Acts to be passed the next Session of Parliament, for the benefit of His Majesty, and the good of his Subjects, they seemed with great contentment and satisfaction to retire into the Country to their several habitations, that they might there refresh themselves in the mean season.

The Irish Commissioners return out of *England*, and land at *Dublin*.

The discovery of the Conspiracy of the *Irish*, to seiz upon the Castle and City of *Dublin*; and their general Rising at the same time, in all the Northern parts of this Kingdom.

SUCH was now the state and present condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, such the great serenity through the gentle and happy transaction of the publick affairs here; As that the late *Irish* Army raised for the invasion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, being peaceably disbanded, their Arms and Munition, by the singular care of the Lords Justices and Council brought into His Majesties stores within the City of *Dublin*, there was no manner of warlike preparations, no reliques of any kind of disorders proceeding from the late Levies, nor indeed any noise of war remaining within these coasts. Now while in this great calm the *British* continued in a most deep security, under the assurance of the blessed peace of this land; while all things were carried on with great temper and moderation in the present Government, and all men sat pleasantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labours, without the least thoughts or apprehension of either tumults or other troubles, the differences between His Majesty, and his Subjects of *Scotland* being about this time fairly composed and settled: There brake out upon the 23. of *October*, 1641. a most desperate and formidable Rebellion, an universal defection and general Revolt, wherein not only all the meer *Irish*, but almost all the old *English* that adhered to the Church of *Rome*, were totally involved. And because it will be necessary to leave some monuments hereof to posterity,

The happy condition of *Ireland* at the time of the breaking out of the Rebellion, *Octob.* 23. 1641.

I shall

I shall observe the beginnings and first motions, as well as trace out the progress, of a Rebellion so execrable in it self, so odious to God and the whole world, as no age, no Kingdom, no people can parallel the horrid cruelties, the abominable murders, that have been without number, as well as without mercy committed upon the *British* inhabitants throughout the land, of what sex or age, of what quality or condition soever they were.

The first plot for the rebellion carried on with so great secrecy, as none of the *English* had notice of it before it was ready to be put in execution.

And first I must needs say, howsoever I have observed in the nature of the *Irish* such a kind of dull and deep reservedness, as makes them with much silence and secrecy to carry on their business: yet I cannot but consider with great admiration how this mischievous plot which was to be so generally at the same time, and at so many several places acted, and therefore necessarily known to so many several persons, should without any noise be brought to such maturity, as to arrive at the very point of execution without any notice or intimation given to any two of that huge multitude of persons who were generally designed (as most of them did) to perish in it. For besides the uncertain presumptions that Sir *William Cole* had of a commotion to be raised by the *Irish* in the Province of *Ulster* about a fortnight before this rebellion brake openly out, and some certain intelligence which he received of the same two days before the *Irish* rose, I could never hear that any *English* man received any certain notice of this conspiracy, before the very evening that it was to be generally put in execution. It is true, Sir *William Cole* upon the very first apprehensions of something that he conceived to be hatching among the *Irish*, did write a Letter to the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 11. of *Octob.* 1641. wherein he gave them notice of the great resort made to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, in the County of *Tyron*, as also to the house of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, in the County of *Fermanagh* and that by several suspected persons, fit instruments for mischief. As also that the said Lord *Mac-Guire* had of late made several journies into the Pale, and other places, and had spent his time much in writing Letters, and sending dispatches abroad. These Letters were received by the Lords Justices and Council, and they in answer to them required him to be very vigilant and industrious to find out what should be the occasion of those several meetings, and speedily to advertise them thereof; or of any other particular that he conceived might tend to the publick service of the State. And for that which was revealed to Sir *William Cole* upon the 21. of *Octob.* the same month by *John Gormacke*, & *Flarty Mac Hugh*, from *Brian Mac-Cohanaght*, *Mac-Guire*, touching the resolution of the *Irish*, to seize upon his Majesties Castle and City of *Dublin*, to murder the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, and the rest of the Protestants there, and to seize upon all the Castles, Forts, Sea-ports, and holds that were in possession of the

Protestants within the Kingdom of Ireland, I find by the examination of *John Cormacke*, taken upon oath at Westminster Nov. 18. 1644. That the said Sir *William Cole* did dispatch Letters to the Lords Justices and Council the same day to give them notice thereof. But I can also testify that those Letters (whether they were intercepted, or that they otherways miscarried, I cannot say) came not unto their hands, as also that they had not any certain notice of this general conspiracy of the *Irish*, until the 22. of Octob. in the very evening before the day appointed for the surpriz of the Castle and City of *Dublin*. Then the Conspirators being many of them arrived within the City, and having that day met at the Lion Tavern near Copper Alley, and there turning the Drawer out of the room, ordered their affairs together, drunk healths upon their knees to the happy success of the next mornings work: *Owen O Conally* a Gentleman of a meer *Irish* family, but one that had long lived among the *English*, and been trained up in the true Protestant religion, came unto the Lord Justice *Parsons* about nine of the clock that evening, and made him a broken relation of a great conspiracy for the seizing upon His Majesties Castle of *Dublin*: He gave him the names of some of the chief conspirators, assured him they were come up expressly to the Town for the same purpose, and that next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and surely effect it, if their design were not speedily prevented, and that he had understood all this from *Hugh Mac-Mahon*, one of the chief conspirators, who was then in the Town, and came up but the very same afternoon for the execution of the plot; and with whom indeed he had been drinking somewhat liberally, and as the truth is, did then make such a broken relation of a matter that seemed so incredible in it self, as that his Lordship gave very little belief to it at first, in regard it came from an obscure person, and one as he conceived somewhat distempered at that time. But howsoever the Lord *Parsons* gave him order to go again to *Mac-Mahon*, and get out of him as much certainty of the plot, with as many particular circumstances as he could, straitly charging him to return back unto him the same evening. And in the mean time, having by strict commands given to the Constable of the Castle, taken order to have the gates thereof well guarded, as also with the Major and Sheriffs of the City to have strong watches set upon all the parts of the same, and to make stay of all strangers, he went privately about ten of the clock that night to the Lord *Borlace's* house without the Town, and there acquainting him with what he understood from *Conally*, they sent for such of the Council as they knew then to be in the Town. But there came onely unto them that night, Sir *Thomas Rotheram*, and Sir *Robert Meredith*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, with these they fell into consultation what was fit to be done, attending the return of *Conally*. And finding that he staid somewhat longer

Owen O Conally discovered the conspiracy of the *Irish* to the Lord *Parsons* the very evening before it was to be executed.

then the time prefixed, they sent out in search after him, and found him seized on by the watch, and so he had been carried away to prison, and the discovery that night disappointed, had not one of the Lord *Parsons* Servants expressly sent amongst others to walk the streets, and attend the motion of the said *Conally*, come in and rescued him; and brought him to the Lord *Borlace's* house. *Conally* having somewhat recovered himself from his distemper, occasioned partly, as he said himself, by the horror of the plot revealed to him, partly by his too liberal drinking with *Mac-Mahon*, that he might the more easily get away from him (he beginning much to suspect and fear his discovering of the plot) confirmed what he had formerly related, and added these farther particulars set down in his Examination, as followeth.

The Examination of *Owen O Conally* Gentleman, taken
before us whose names ensue, Octob. 22. 1641.

WHo being duly sworn, and examined, saith, That he being at Monimore, in the County of London-Derry on Tuesday last, he received a Letter from Colonel Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon, desiring him to come to Conaght in the County of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday or Thursday last, whereupon he, this Examinee came to Conaght on Wednesday night last, and finding the said Hugh come to Dublin, followed him hither: He came hither about six of the clock this evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the said Hugh, to the house near the Boat in Oxman Town, and there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh into the Town, near the Pillory, to the lodging of the Lord Mac-Guire, where they found not the Lord within, and there they drank a cup of Beer, and then went back again to the said Hugh his lodging. He saith, that at the Lord Mac-Guire his lodging, the said Hugh told him that there were, and would be this night great numbers of Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the Irish Papists from all the parts of the Kingdom in this Town, who with himself had determined to take the Castle of Dublin, and possess themselves of all His Majesties Ammunition there to morrow morning, being Saturday, and that they intended first to batter
the

the Chimnies of the said Town, and if the City would not yield, then to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the Protestants that would not joyn with them. He further saith, that the said Hugh then told him, that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the Kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there to morrow morning by ten of the clock, & that in all the Sea-ports, and other Towns in the Kingdom, all the Protestants should be killed this night, and that all the Posts that could be, could not prevent it: And further saith, that he moved the said Hugh to forbear executing of that business, and to discover it to the State, for the saving of his own estate, who said he could not help it. But said, that they did owe their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights, but that they did this for the Tyrannical Government was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who got a privilege by that course. And he further saith, that when he was with the said Hugh in his lodging the second time, the said Hugh swore that he should not go out of his lodging that night, but told him that he should go with him the next morning to the Castle, and said, if this matter were discovered, some body should die for it, whereupon this Examine feigned some necessity for his easement, went down out of the Chamber, and left his sword in pawn, and the said Hugh sent his man down with him, and when this Examine came down into the Tard, and finding an opportunity, he, this Examine leaped over a Wall, and two Pales, and so came to the Lord Justice Parsons.

Octob. 22. 1641.

William Parsons.
Tho. Rotheram.
Rob. Meredith.

Owen O Conally.

Hereupon the Lords took present order to have a Watch privately set upon the lodging of Mac-Mahon, as also upon the L. Mac-Guire, and so they sat up all that night in consultation, having far stronger presumptions upon this latter examination taken, then any ways at first they

H's confel-
sion.

could entertain. The Lords Justices upon a further consideration (there being come unto them early next morning several other of the Privy Council) sent before day, and seized upon *Mac-Mahon*, then with his Servant in his own lodging; they at first made some little resistance with their drawn swords, but finding themselves over-mastered, presently yielded, and so they were brought before the Lords Justices and Council still sitting at the Lord *Borlace's* house: where upon examination he did without much difficulty confess the Plot resolutely, telling them, That on that very day all the Forts and strong places in *Ireland* would be taken, That he with the *L. Mac-Guire*, *Hugh Birn*, *Capt. Brian O Neal*, and several other *Irish* Gentlemen, were come up expressly to surpriz the Castle of *Dublin*, That twenty men out of each County in the Kingdom were to be here to joyn with them, That all the Lords and Gentlemen in the Kingdom that were Papists were engaged in this Plot, That what was that day to be done in other parts of the Country, was so far advanced by that time, as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it; and withall told them, That it was true, they had him in their power, and might use him how they pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged.

The Lord
Mac-Guire
with several
other of the
Conspirators
seised no.

By this time the noise of this Conspiracy began to be confusedly spread abroad about the Town, and advertisement was brought unto the Lords Justices then in Council, that great numbers of strangers had been observed to come the last evening, and in the morning early unto the Town, and most of them to set up their horses in the suburbs: whereupon the Lords having in the first place taken order for the apprehension of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, removed themselves for their better security unto the Castle, where the body of the Council then in Town attended them at the ordinary place of their meeting there. In the first place they caused a present search to be made for all such horses belonging to strangers as were brought into any Inns, and by that means they discovered some of the owners, who were presently seized upon and committed to the Castle of *Dublin*, having already delivered over to the custody of the Constable there the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and *Hugh Mac-Mahon*; *Hugh Birn*, and *Roger Moor*, chief of the conspirators, escaped over the River in the night, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, with several others found means likewise to pass away undiscerned; and of the great numbers which came up out of several Counties to be Assistants in taking of the Castle and City of *Dublin*, there were not, through the slack pursuit and great negligence of the inhabitants, above thirty seized upon, most of them Servants and inconsiderable persons, those of quality having so many good friends within the Town, as they had very ill luck if apprehended. The same day before the Lords rose from Council, they took order for this Proclamation which here followeth to be made and published.

By

By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. Parsons.

John Borlace.

THese are to make known and publish to all His Majesties good Subjects in this Kingdom of *Ireland*, that there is a discovery made by Us the Lords Justices and Council, of a most disloyal and detestable Conspiracy intended by some evil-affected *Irish* Papists, against the lives of Us the Lords Justices and Council, and many other of His Majesties faithful Subjects, universally throughout this Kingdom, and for the seizing not only of His Majesties Castle of *Dublin*, His Majesties principal Fort here, but also of the other Fortifications in the Kingdom: And seeing by the great goodness and abundant mercy of Almighty God to His Majesty, and this State and Kingdom, those wicked Conspiracies are brought to light, and some of the Conspirators Committed to the Castle of *Dublin*, by Us, by His Majesties Authority, so as those wicked and damnable Plots are now disappointed in the chief parts thereof, We therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publickly known, for the comfort of His Majesties good and loyal Subjects in all parts of the Kingdom, but also hereby to require them, that they do with all confidence and cheerfulness betake themselves to their own defence, and stand upon their guard, so to render

the more safety to themselves, and all the Kingdom besides, and that they advertise Us with all possible speed of all Occurrents, which may concern the peace and safety of the Kingdom, and now to shew fully that Faith and Loyalty, which they have always shown for the publick services of the Crown and Kingdom, which We will value to His Majesty accordingly, and a special memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due time. And We require that great care be taken that no levies of men be made for forrein service, nor any men suffered to march upon any such pretence. Given at His Majesties Castle of *Dublin*, 23. *Octob.* 1641.

R. Dillon. Ro. Digby. Ad. Loftus. I. Temple. Tho. Rotheram. Fr. Willoughby. Ja. Ware. Ro. Meredith.

God save the King.

¶ Imprinted at *Dublin*, by the Society
OF STATIONERS.

This

This Proclamation was presently Printed, and several Copies sent down by express messengers unto the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in several parts of the Country, where they caused them to be divers ways dispersed, hoping that when the timely discovery of this conspiracy, and the happy prevention in a great part, should fully appear abroad, it would prove so great a discouragement to such of the conspirators as had not yet openly declared themselves, as that they would thereby be contained within the bounds of their duty and obedience to His Majesty. The same night the Lord *Blaney* arrived with the news of the surprisal of his house, his Wife and his Children, by the Rebels of the County of *Monaghan*: Next day came advertisement from Sir *Arthur Tyringham*, of the taking of the *Newry*; and then the sad relations of burning, spoiling, and horrible murders committed within the Province of *Ulster*, began to multiply, and several persons every day and almost every hour in every day for a good while after, arrived like *Jobs* messengers, telling the story of their own sufferings, and the fearful massacres of the poor *English* in those parts from whence they came. These things wrought such a general consternation and astonishment in the minds of all the *English* and other inhabitants well-affected within the City, as they were much affrighted therewith, expecting every hour when the *Irish* already crept into the Town, joyning with the Papists there, should make the City a Theater whereon to act the second part of that Tragedy most bloodily begun in the Northern parts by them.

The *Irish* rise first in the Province of *Ulster*, and there burn, spoil, and destroy the *English*.

And it added most extremely to these present fears, that several unhappy rumours (the great tormentors of the weaker sex) were vainly spread abroad of the suddain approach of great numbers of Rebels out of the adjacent *Irish* Counties unto the City: Some would make us believe that they were discerned at some distance already marching down from the mountain side within view of the Town; a report so credibly delivered by those who pretended to be eye-witnesses, that it drew some of the State up to the platform of the Castle to behold those who were yet invisible, though there were there that would not be perswaded but that they saw the very motions of the men as they marched down the mountains. It was at the same time also generally noised abroad, that there were 10000. of the Rebels gotten together in a body at the Hill of *Tarah*, a place not above sixteen miles distant from the Town, and that they intended without any further delay to march on and presently surprize the same. These false rumours being unluckily spread, and by some fomented out of evil ends, exceedingly increased the present distractions of the people, and raised such a panick fear among them, as about seven of the clock at night, the Lords Justices and some of the Council being then in the

False rumours spread of the Rebels' approach to the City of *Dublin*.

the Council chamber within the Castle, there came in to them a Gentleman of good quality, who having not without much difficulty, as he pretended, recovered the Gate of the Castle, caused the Warders then attending to draw up the bridge, assuring them that the Rebels gathered together in great numbers, had already possessed themselves of a good part of the Town, and came now with great fury marching down the street that leads directly towards the Castle Gate. But this fear was quickly removed by Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who being that day made Governour of the Castle, caused the draw-bridge to be let down, and so found this to be a false Alarm occasioned by some mistake fallen among the people, who continued waving up and down the streets, prepossessed with strange fears, and some of them upon some slender accident drawing their swords, others that knew not the cause thought fit to follow the example, and so came to appear to this Gentleman who was none of their company, as so many Rebels coming up to enter the Castle.

The Lords
Justices and
Council con-
sult what
course to
take for the
suppressing
this Rebel-
lion.

No money in
the Exche-
quer.

These were the first beginnings of our sorrows, ill symptomes, and sad preparatives to the ensuing evils: Therefore the Lords finding by several intelligences, though some purposely framed, that the power of the Rebels was suddenly swollen up to so great a bulk, and likely so fast to multiply and increase upon them, thought it high time to consider of the remedies, and in what condition they were to oppose, since they could not prevent so imminent a danger. The Rebellion now appeared without all manner of question to be generally raised in all parts of the North, and like a torrent to come down most impetuously upon them: besides, it was no ways improbable that all other parts of the Kingdom would take fire and follow their example, they had the testimony of *MacMahon* positive therein. The first thing therefore which they took into consideration, was, how they were provided of Money, Arms, and Munition; Then, what Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horse of the old Army they were able to draw presently together, as also what numbers of new men they could suddenly raise. For the first, they had this short account from the Vice-treasurer, That there was no money in the Exchequer. And certainly it was a main policy in the first contrivers of this Rebellion, to plot the breaking of it out at such a time when the Exchequer should be empty, and all the Kings Revenues both certain and casual, due for that half year, as well as the Rents of all the *British* throughout the Kingdom, should be found ready either in the Tenants or Collectors hands in the Country, and so necessarily fall under their power, as they did to their great advantage. For Arms and Munition, the Stores were indifferently well furnished at this time: Besides several Pieces of Artillery

Artillery of divers sorts, most of them fitted for present service, there were Arms for near 10000 men, 1500 barrels of Powder, with Match and Lead proportionable, laid in by the Earl of *Sirafford* late L. Lieutenant, not long before, and designed another way, but so opportunely reserved for this service, as the good providence of God did exceedingly appear therein, but principally in the miraculous preservation of them out of the hands of the Rebels, who made the surprisal of these provisions, then all within the Castle of *Dublin* (the common store-house of them) a main part of their design. The old standing Army, as appears by this List, consisted only of 41 Companies of Foot, and 14 Troops of Horse.

A List of His Majesties Army in Ireland, 1641. Before the Rebellion began.

Foot-Companies consisting of six Officers, viz. Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Chirurgeon, Serjeant and Drum, and forty four Souldiers each Company.

L ORD Lieutenants Guard	44	Cap. <i>Thomas Rockly</i>	44
Sir <i>Robert Farrar</i>	44	Sir <i>Arthur Tyringham</i>	44
Sir <i>Thomas wharton</i>	44	Cap. <i>Philip Wenman</i>	44
Sir <i>George Saint-George</i>	44	Cap. <i>Charles Price</i>	44
Cap. <i>Francis Butler</i>	44	Sir <i>Charles Coot</i>	44
Sir <i>Will Saint-Leguer</i>	44	Cap. <i>Thomas Games</i>	44
Lord <i>Docwra</i>	44	Sir <i>Francis Willoughby</i>	44
Lord <i>Blany</i>	44	Sir <i>John Borlace</i>	44
Sir <i>Robert Steward</i>	44	Cap. <i>Robert Baily</i>	44
Lord Viscount <i>Rannelagh</i>	44	Sir <i>Arthur Loftus</i>	44
Lord Viscount <i>Baltinglas</i>	44	Cap. <i>Will. Billingsly</i>	44
Sir <i>John Vaughan</i>	44	The Lord <i>Esmond</i>	44
Cap. <i>George Blount</i>	44	The Lord <i>Lambert</i>	44
Sir <i>Hen. Tichbourn</i>	44	Sir <i>George Hamilton</i>	44
Sir <i>Frederick Hamilton</i>	44	Lord <i>Folliot</i>	44
Lord <i>Castle-stewart</i>	44	Sir <i>Will. Stewart</i>	44
Sir <i>Lorenzo Cary</i>	44	Cap. <i>Robert Biron</i>	44
Cap. <i>Chichester Fortescue</i>	44	Sir <i>John Sherlock</i>	44
Sir <i>John Gifford</i>	44	The Earl of <i>Clanricard</i>	44
Cap. <i>John Barry</i>	44	Cap. <i>John Ogle</i>	44
Sir <i>John Nettervile</i>	44		

These Companies contain Officers ————— 246 } In all } 2297.
Souldiers ————— 2051 }

Hors-Troops.

THE Earl of <i>Leicester</i> Lord Lieutenant General, his Troop consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, Cornet, and Hors-men	108	Sir <i>Will. Saint-Lezuer</i> , Lord President of <i>Munster</i> , the like	58
The Earl of <i>Ormonds</i> Troop, like Officers, and Hors-men	107	Lord Viscount <i>Moor</i> , the like	58
The Earl of <i>Straffords</i> Troop, like Officers and Hors-men	58	Lord Viscount <i>Grandison</i> , the like	58
Lord <i>Dillons</i> Troop, like Officers and Hors-men	58	Lord Viscount <i>Cromwel</i> of <i>Lecale</i> , the like	58
Lord <i>Wilmots</i> Troop, like Officers and Hors-men	58	Cap. <i>Arthur Chicester</i> , the like	58
		Sir <i>George Wentworth</i> , the like	58
		Sir <i>John Borlace</i> , the like	58
		Lord Viscount <i>Conway</i> , the like	58
		Sir <i>Adam Loftus</i> , the like	58

These Troops contain Officers ——— 42 } In all } 943
 Hors-men ——— 901 }

Letters from
 the Lords Ju-
 stices and
 Council to
 the Lord
 Lieutenant.

These were so strangely dispersed most of them into the remote parts of the Kingdom, for the guard of several Forts and other places, as it fell out to be in a manner most impossible to draw a considerable number of them together in any time, either for the defence of the City, or the making head against the Rebels in the North: and besides it was much to be suspected, the companies lying severally so remote, and ill furnished with munition, could with little safety march to *Dublin*. Yet the Lords sent Potents presently away to require several Companies of Foot, and some Troops of Hors presently to rise and march up from their several Garrisons towards the City of *Dublin*. And now it was held high time to give an accompt unto His Majesty, then at *Edenburgh* in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and to the Lord Lieutenant continuing still at *London* (the Parliament still sitting there) of the breaking out of this Rebellion, the ill condition of the Kingdom, the wants of the State, and the Supplies absolutely necessary for their present defence and preservation. And because the Letter to the Lord Lieutenant doth most clearly represent several particulars which may much conduce to the knowledge of the affairs, I have thought fit to insert a true Copy of it, which here followeth.

May

May it please your Lordship,

ON Friday the two and twentieth of this month, after nine of the clock at night, this bearer Owen Conally, servant to Sir John Klotworthy Knight, came to me the Lord Justice Parsons to my house, and in great secrecy (as indeed the cause did require) discovered unto me a most wicked and damnable conspiracy, plotted, contrived, & intended to be also acted by some evil-affected Irish Papists here. The plot was on the then next morning, Saturday the 23 of October, being St. Ignatius day, about nine of the clock to surpriz His Majesties Castle of Dublin, His Majesties chief strength of this Kingdom, wherein also is the principal Magazine of his Majesties Arms and Munition, and it was agreed it seems amongst them, that at the same hour all other His Majesties Forts and Magazines of Arms and Munition in this Kingdom, should be surprized by others of those Conspirators, and further, that all the Protestants and English throughout the whole Kingdom, that would not joyn with them, should be cut off, and so those Papists should then become possessed of the Government and Kingdom at the same instant.

Assoon as I had that intelligence, I then immediatly repaired to the Lord Justice Borlace, and thereupon We instantly assembled the Council, and having sate all that night, as also all the next day, the 23 of October, in regard of the short time left us for the consultation of so great and weighty a matter, although it was not possible for us upon so few hours warning to prevent those other great mischiefs which were to be acted, even at that same hour, and at so great a distance as in all the other parts of the Kingdom. Yet such was our industry therein, having caused the Castle to be that night strengthened with armed men, and the City guarded, as the wicked Counsels of those evil persons, by the great mercy of God to us, became defeated, so as they were not able to Act that part of their Treachery, which indeed was principal, and which, if they could have effected, would have rendred the rest of their purposes the more easy.

Having so secured the Castle, We forthwith laid about for the apprehension of as many of the Offenders as We could, many of them having come to this City but that night, intending it seems the next morning to act their parts in those treacherous and bloody crimes.

The first man apprehended was one Hugh Mac-Mahon Esquire (Grandson to the Traitor Tyrone) a Gentleman of a good fortune in the County of Monaghan, who with others, was taken that morning in Dublin, having at the time of their apprehension offered a little resistance with their swords drawn, but finding those We employed against them more in number, and better armed, yielded. He upon his Examination before us at first denyed all, but in the end, when he saw we laid it home to him, he confessed enough to destroy himself, and impeach some others, as by a Copy of his Examination herewith sent, may appear

to your Lordship, We then committed him until We might have further time to examine him again, our time being become more needful to be employed in Action for securing this place, then in examining. This Mac-Mahon had been abroad, and served the K. of Spain as a Lieutenant Colonel.

Upon conference with him and others, and calling to mind a Letter We received the week before from Sir William Cole, a Copy whereof We send your Lordship here inclosed, We gathered that the Lord Mac Guire was to be an actor in surprizing the Castle of Dublin, wherefore We held it necessary to secure him immediately, thereby also to startle and deter the rest, when they found him laid fast. His Lordship observing what we had done, and the City in Arms, fled from his lodging early before day, it seems disguised, for we had laid a watch about his lodging, so as we think he could not pass without disguising himself, yet he could not get forth of the City, so surely guarded were all the Gates.

There were found at his lodging hidden some Hatchets, with the Helves newly cut off close to the Hatchets, and many Skeans, and some Hammers.

In the end the Sheriffs of the City, whom we employed in strict search of his Lordship, found him hidden in a Cockloft, in an obscure house far from his lodging, where they apprehended him, and brought him before Us.

He denied all, yet so, as he could not deny but he heard of it in the Country, though he would not tell us when, or from whom; and confessed that he had not advertised Us thereof, as in duty he ought to have done. But We were so well satisfied of his guiltiness by all circumstances, as We doubted not upon further examination when We could be able to spare time for it to find it apparent: wherefore We held it of absolute necessity to commit him Close-prisoner, as We had formerly done Mac-Mahon, and others: where We left him on the three and twentieth of this month in the morning, about the same hour they intended to have been Masters of that place, and this City.

That morning also We laid wait for all those strangers that came the night before to Town, and so many were apprehended whom We find reason to believe to have hands in this Conspiracy, as We were forced to disperse them into several Gaols: and We since found that there came many Hors-men in to the Suburbs that night, who finding the plot discovered, dispersed themselves immediately.

When the hour approached, which was designed for surprizing the Castle, great numbers of strangers were observed to come to Town in great parties several ways; who not finding admittance at the Gaets, staid in the Suburbs, and there grew numerous, to the terror of the Inhabitants. We therefore to help that, drew up instantly and signed a Proclamation, commanding all men, not dwellers in the City or Suburbs, to depart within an hour, upon pain of death, and made it alike penal to those that should harbour them; which Proclamation the Sheriffs immediately proclaimed in all the Suburbs by Our commandment: which being accompanied with the example and terror of the committal of those two eminent men, and others, occasioned the departure of those multitudes: and in this case, all our

lives

lives and fortunes, and above all, His Majesties power and regal authority being still at the stake, We must vary from ordinary proceedings, not only in executing martial law as We see cause, but also in putting some to the Rack to find out the bottom of this Treason, and all the contrivers thereof, which we foresee will not otherwise be done.

On that 23. day of this month, We conceiving that as soon as it should be known that the plot for seizing Dublin Castle was disappointed, all the Conspirators in the remote parts might be somewhat disheartned, as on the other side the good Subjects would be comforted, and would then with the more confidence stand on their guard; did prepare to send abroad to all parts of the Kingdom this Proclamation which we send you here inclosed: and so having provided that the City and Castle should be so guarded as upon the sudden We could promise, We concluded that long continued consultation.

On Saturday at 12. of the clock at night the Lord Blany came to Town and brought Us the ill news of the Rebels seizing with two hundred men his house at Castle Blany in the County of Monaghan, and his Wife, Children, and Servants, as also a house of the Earl of Essex called Carrickmacross with two hundred men, and a house of Sir Henry Spotswood in the same County, with two hundred men, where there being a little Plantation of British, they plundered the Town and burnt divers houses, and it since appears that they burnt divers other Villages; and robbed and spoiled many English, and none but Protestants; leaving the English Papists untouched as well as the Irish.

On Sunday morning at three of the clock We had intelligence from Sir Arthur Terringham, that the Irish in the Town had that day also broken up the Kings store of arms and munition at the Newry, where the store of arms hath lien ever since the peace, and where they found fourscore and ten barrells of powder, and armed themselves, and put them under the command of Sir Con. Magennis Knight, and one Creely a Monk, and plundered the English there and disarmed the Garrison. And this, though too much, is all that We yet hear is done by them.

However We shall stand on our guard the best We may to defend the Castle and City principally, those being the pieces of most importance. But if the Conspiracy be so Universal as Mac-Mahon saith in his Examination it is, namely, That all the Counties in the Kingdom have conspired in it, which We admire should so fall out in this time of Universal peace, and carried with that secrecy that none of the English could have any friend amongst them to disclose it, then indeed We shall be in high extremity, and the Kingdom in the greatest danger that ever it underwent, considering our want of men, mony, and arms, to enable Us to encounter so great multitudes as they can make, if all should joyn against Us, the rather, because We have pregnant cause to doubt that the combination hath taken force by the incitement of Jesuites, Priests and Fryers.

All the hope We have here is, the old English of the Pale, and some other parts, will continue constant to the King in their fidelity, as they did in former rebellions.

And now in these straits, We must under God depend on a fourth of England for our present supply with all speed, especially money, We having none, and arms which we shall exceedingly want; without which, We are very doubtful what account We shall give to the King of his Kingdom.

But if the Conspiracy be onely of Mac-Guire and some other Irish of the kindred and friends of the Rebel Tiron and other Irish in the Counties of Down, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh & Armagh, and no general revolt following thereupon, we hope then to make head against them in a reasonable measure if We be enabled with money from thence, without which We can raise no forces, so great is our want of money as we have formerly written, and our debt so great to the Army: nor is money to be borrowed here, and if it were, we would engage all our estates for it: neither have we any hope to get in his Majesties rents and subsidies in these disturbances, which add extremely to our necessities.

On Sunday morning 24. We met again in Council, and sent to all parts of the Kingdom the enclosed Proclamation, and issued Patents to draw hither seven Hors-troops as a farther strength to this place, and to be with us in case the Rebels shall make head and march hitherward, so as we may be necessitated to give them battel. We also then sent away our Letters to the President of both the Provinces of Munster & Conaght: And we likewise then sent Letters to the Sheriffs of the five Counties of the Pale to consult of the best way and means of their own preservation. That day the Lord Vice Com. Gormanston, the Lord Vice Co. Netterville, the Lord Vice Co. Fitz Williams, and the Lord of Houth, and since the Earles of Kildare, and Fingal, and the Lords of Dunsany and Slane, all Noblemen of the English Pale came unto us, declaring that they then and not before heard of the matter, and professed Loyalty to his Majesty, and concurrence with the State, but said they wanted Arms, whereof they desired to be supplied by Us, which we told them we would willingly do, as relying much on their faithfulness to the Crown: but we were not yet certain whether or no we had enough to arm our strength for the guard of the City and Castle; yet we supplied such of them as lay in most danger with a small proportion of Arms and Munition for their houses, lest they should conceive we apprehended any jealousy of them. And we commanded them to be very diligent in sending out watches, and making all the discoveries they could, and thereof to advertise us, which they readily promised to do.

And if it fall out that the Irish generally rise, which we have cause to suspect, then we must of necessity put Arms into the hands of the English Pale in present, and to others as fast as we can, to fight for defence of the State and themselves.

Your Lordship now sees the condition wherein we stand, and how necessary it is first that we enjoy your presence speedily for the better guiding of those and other the publick affairs of the King and Kingdom. And secondly, that the Parliament there be moved immediately to advance to us a good sum of money, which
being

being now speedily sent hither, may prevent the expence of very much treasure & blood in a long continued war. And if your Lordship shall happen to stay on that side any longer time; we must then desire your Lordship to appoint a Lieutenant General to discharge the great and weighty burthen of commanding the forces here.

Amidst these confusions and discords fallen upon Us, We bethought Us of the Parliament, which was formerly adjourned to November next, and the term now also at hand, which will draw such a concourse of people hither and give opportunity under that pretence, assembling and taking new Councils, seeing the former seems to be in some part disappointed, and of contriving further danger to this State and People: We have therefore found it of unavoidable necessity to prorogue it accordingly, and to direct the Term to be adjourned to the first of Hillary Term, excepting onely the Court of Exchequer for hastning in the Kings mony if it be possible. We desire upon this occasion your Lordship will be pleased to view our Letters concerning the plantation of Conaght, dated the 24 of April last, directed to Mr. Secretary Vane in that part thereof, which concerns the County of Monaghan, where now these fires do first break out.

In the last place we must make known to your Lordship, that the Army we have, consisting but of 2000 Foot and 1000 Horse, are so dispersed in Garrisons in several parts, as continually they have been since they were so reduced, as if they be all sent for to be drawn together, not only the places whence they are to be drawn, (and for whose safety they lie there) must be by absence distressed; but also the Companies themselves coming in so small numbers may be in danger to be cut off in their march; nor indeed have we any mony to pay the Souldiers to enable them to march. And so we take leave and remain from his Majesties Castle of Dubin 25 of October, 1641.

Your Lordships to be commanded

William Parsons. John Borlace.

Richard Bolton. Can. R. Dillon, Anthony Midenfis, John Raphoe, R. Digby, Ad. Loftus, Ger. Lowther, John Temple, Tho. Rotheram, Fran. Willoughby, Ja. Ware, G. Wentworth, Robert Meredith.

POSTSCRIPT.

THe said Owen Conally, who reveiled the Conspiracy is worthy of very great consideration, to recompence that faith and loyalty which he hath so extreemly to his own danger expressed in this business; whereby under God there is yet hope left us of deliverance of this State and Kingdom, from the wicked purposes of those Conspirators. And therefore we beseech your Lordship that it be taken into consideration there, so as he may have a mark of his Majesties most Royal bounty which may largely extend to him and his posterity, we not being now able here to do it for him.

W. PARSONS.

To the Right Honourable our very good Lord ROBERT Earle of Leicester, Lo. Lieutenant Gen. and General Governour of the Kingdom of Ireland.

The

THE dispatch sent to his Majesty was addressed to Sir *Henry Vane*, Principal Secretary, and carried by Sir *Henry Spotswood*, who went by Sea directly into *Scotland*: And the Letters to the L. Lieutenant were sent to *London* by *Owen O Conally*, the first discoverer of the Plot.

The Lords Justices cause the Proclamations to be dispersed, Letters to be written and other means to be used for the prevention of the rising of the *Irish* in the North, but all to no purpose.

The Lords of the *English Pale* repair to the Council-board, and there declare their Loyal affections to his Majesty. The *English Pale* is a large circuit of Land possessed at the time of the first Conquest of *Ireland* by the *English*, & ever since inhabited by them; it contains several Counties, viz the Counties of *Dublin*, *Meath*, *Lenth*, *Kildare*, &c.

The Lords now with all care and diligence applied their further endeavours towards the preventing as much as was possible, the destruction intended against all the *British* inhabitants of the Kingdom, as well as the security of the City and the places round about it. A work of large extent, and wherein they met with many difficulties, by reason of their own wants both of men and money. They having formerly sent away and dispersed the Proclamations into several parts of the Country, now sent Letters by express Messengers unto the Presidents of *Munster* & *Conaght*, and to several principal Gentlemen in those two Provinces; as also to others within the Province of *Lemster*, giving them notice of the discovery of the Plot, and advising them to stand upon their guard, and to make the best provision they could for the defence of the Country about them. They sent another express to the Earl of *Ormond*, then at his house at *Carick*, with Letters to the same effect; and withall desired his Lordship presently to repair unto them at *Dublin* with his Troop of Hors. They sent likewise Commissions to the Lords Viscounts of *Clandeboys*, & of the *Ardes*, for raising of the *Scots* in the Northern parts, and putting them into Arms, as they did also soon after to Sir *William Stewart*, & Sir *Robert Stewart*, & several other Gentlemen of quality in the North. And as they gave them order for prosecution of the Rebels with fire and sword, so they gave them power to receive such of them in as should submit to his Majesties grace & mercy. But these dispatches they were enforced to send all by Sea, the Rebels having stopped up the passages, and hindred all manner of intercourse with that Province by Land.

The Lords of the *Pale* having been at the Council-board, and there declared to the Lords Justices, with great protestations, their Loyal affections unto his Majesty; together with their readiness and forward concurrence with their Lordships in this service, came unto them again within two or three days after with a Petition; wherein they offered unto their Lordships, the deep sense they had of an expression in the late Proclamation set out upon the discovery of this great Conspiracy intended, as is there set down. By some evil affected *Irish Papists*, which words they feared might be by some mis-interpreted, and such a construction put upon them, as might reflect upon their persons, as comprehended under them. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council thought fit, to descend so far to their satisfaction, as not only to remonstrate the clearness of their intentions towards them, but that it might appear unto the world, they entertained not the least jealous thoughts of them, they caused a new Proclamation to be set out by way of explanation of the former, which I have thought fit here to insert, that it may appear how far they were from giving any of those Lords and Gentlemen occasion to break out into those rebellious courses, they soon afterwards took to their own destruction.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. Parsons.

John Borlace.

W Hereas a Petition hath been preferred unto Us by divers Lords and Gentlemen of the *English Pale*, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the *Pale*, and other the old *English* of this Kingdom, shewing that whereas a late Conspiracy of Treason is discovered of ill-affected persons of the old *Irish*, and that thereupon a Proclamation was published by Us; wherein among other things, it is declared that the said Conspiracy was perpetrated by *Irish Papists* without distinction of any; and they doubting that by those general words of *Irish Papists*, they might seem to be involved, though they declare themselves confident that We did not intend to conclude them therein, in regard they are none of the old *Irish*, nor of their faction, or confederacy; but are altogether averse and opposite to all their designs, and all others of like condition; We do therefore to give them full satisfaction, hereby declare and publish to all His Majesties good Subjects in this Kingdom, That by the words, *Irish Papists*, We intended onely such of the old meer *Irish* in the Province of *Ulster*, as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this Treason, and others who adhere to them, and that We did not any way intend, or mean thereby any of the old *English* of the *Pale*, nor of any other parts of this Kingdom, We being well assured of their fidelities to the Crown, and having experience of the good affections and services of their Ancestors in former times of danger and Rebellion. And We further require all His Majesties loving Subjects, whether Protestants or Papists to forbear upbraiding matter of Religion, one against the other, and that upon pain of His Majesties indignation. Given at His Majest. Castle of *Dublin*, 29 Oct. 1641.

R. Ranelagh, R. Dillon, Ant. Midenfis, Ad. Loftus, Geo. Shurly,
Gerrard Lowther, I. Temple, Fr. Willongby, Ja. Ware.

God save the King.

A Proclamation issued for the satisfaction of the Lords and Gentlemen of the English Pale.

Imprinted at *Dublin*, by the Society of STATIONERS.

E

But

The greater
part of *Ulster*
possessed by
the Northern
Rebels.

The names
of the chief
Rebels in
Ulster.

Several Forts
and other
places sud-
denly surpris-
ed by the
Rebels.

But to return now to the Northern Rebels, who so closely pursued on their first plot, as they beginning to put it in execution in most of the chief places of strength there, upon the 23. of *Octob.* the day appointed for the surprizal of the Castle of *Dublin*, had by the latter end of the same month gotten into their possession all the Towns, Forts, Castles, and Gentlemens houses within the Counties of *Tyron*, *Donegal*, *Fermanagh*, *Armagh*, *Cavan*, *London Derry*, *Monaghan*, & half the County of *Down*, excepting the Cities of *London Derry* & *Coleraign*, the Town and Castle of *Encikillin*, and some other places and Castles which were for the present gallantly defended by the *British* undertakers, though afterwards for want of relief surrendered into their hands. The chief of the Northern Rebels that first appeared in the execution of this Plot within the Province of *Ulster* were Sir *Phelim O Neal*, *Turlogh O Neal*, his brother, *Roury Mac-Guire* brother to the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, *Mulmore O Rely*, Sir *Conne Mac-Gennis*, *Col. Mac-Brian*, *Mac-Mahon*; these having closely combined together, with several other of their accomplices, the chief of the several Septs in the several Counties, divided their forces into several parties; and according to a general assignation made among themselves at one and the same time, surprized by treachery the Town and Castle of the *Newry*, the Fort of *Donganmon*, Fort *Montjoy*, *Charlemont*, *Tonragee*, *Caricke Mac-Resse*, *Cloughcuter*, *Castle Blany*, *Castle of Monaghan*; being all of them places of considerable strength, and in several of them companies of foot, or Troops of Hors belonging to the standing-army. Besides these they took a multitude of other Castles, Houses of strength, Towns, and Villages, all abundantly peopled with *British* inhabitants, who had exceedingly enriched the Country as well as themselves by their painful labours. They had made for their more comfortable subsistence, handsome and pleasant habitations, abounding with corn, cattel, and all other commodities that an industrious people could draw out of a good inland soil. They lived in great plenty, and some of them very well stored with plate and ready money. They lived likewise in as great security, being quiet and careless, as the people of *Laish*, little suspecting any treachery from their *Irish* neighbours. The *English* well knew they had given them no manner of provocation; they had entertained them with great demonstrations of love and affection. No story can ever shew that in any Age since their intermixed cohabitation, they rose up so secretly to do them mischief. And now of late they lived so peaceably and lovingly together as they had just reason most confidently to believe, that the *Irish* would never upon any occasion generally rise up again to their destruction. This I take to be one main and principal reason that the *English* were so easily over-run within the Northern Counties, and so suddenly swallowed up, before they could make any manner of

refi-

resistance in the very first beginnings of this Rebellion. For most of the *English* having either *Irish* Tenants, Servants, or Landlords, and all of them *Irish* neighbours their familiar friends: as soon as the fire brake out, and the whole Country began to rise about them, some made their recourse presently to their Friends for protection, some relying upon their Neighbours, others upon their Landlords, others upon their Tenants and Servants for preservation, or at least, present safety; and with great confidence put their lives, their Wives, their Children, and all they had, into their power. But these generally either betrayed them into the hands of other Rebels, or most perfidiously destroyed them with their own hands. The Priests had now charmed the *Irish*, and laid such bloody impressions in them, as it was held, according to the maxims they had received, a mortal sin to give any manner of relief or protection to any of the *English*. All bonds and ties of faith and friendship were now broken; the *Irish* Landlords made a prey of their *English* Tenants, *Irish* Tenants and Servants a Sacrifice of their *English* Landlords and Masters, one Neighbour cruelly murdered by another; the very *Irish* children in the very beginning fell to strip and kill *English* children: all other relations were quite cancelled and laid aside, and it was now esteemed a most meritorious work in any of them that could by any means or ways whatsoever, bring an *English* man to the slaughter. A work not very difficult to be compassed as things then stood. For they living promiscuously among the *British*, in all parts having from their Priests received the Watchword both for time and place, rose up, as it were actuated by one and the same spirit, in all places of those Counties before mentioned at one and the same point of time; and so in a moment fell upon them, murthering some, stripping onely, or expelling others out of their habitations. This bred such a general terror and astonishment among the *English* as they knew not what to think, much less what to do, or which way to turn themselves. Their servants were killed as they were ploughing in the fields, Husbands cut to pieces in the presence of their Wives, their Childrens brains dashed out before their faces, others had all their goods and cattel seized and carried away, their houses burnt, their habitations laid wast, and all as it were at an instant before they could suspect the *Irish* for their enemies, or any ways imagine that they had it in their hearts, or in their power, to offer so great violence, or do such mischief unto them.

Now for such of the *English* as stood upon their guard, and had gathered together, though but in small numbers, the *Irish* had recourse to their ancient stratagem; which as they have formerly, so they still continued to make frequent use of in this present Rebellion. And that was fairly to offer unto them good conditions of quarter, to assure them their lives, their goods, and free passage, with a safe conduct into what place soever

The great security and confidence of the *English* in the *Irish*, a great cause of their sudden destruction.

The *English* betrayed and murdered by their *Irish* friends, servants, and Tenants.

The intermixture of the *English* among the *Irish*, a main cause of their sudden destruction.

The *Irish* falsify their oaths and protestations to the *English* and after quarter given them in several places, murder and destroy them.

Several policies used by the *Irish* to prevent the *English* from rising against, or the *Scots* to joyn in their defence.

The *English* stand upon the defence of their private houses without joyn- ing together in one body, whereby they gave great advantage to the Rebels.

they pleased, and to confirm these Covenants sometimes under their Hands and Seals, sometimes with deep Oaths and Protestations; and then as soon as they had them in their power, to hold themselves dis-obliged from their promises, and to leave their Souldiers at liberty to despoil, strip, and murder them at their pleasure. Thus were the poor *English* treated, who had shut themselves up in the great Cathedral Church at *Armagh* by Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and his brother *Turlogh*. Thus were such of the *English* used by *Philip O Rely*, who had retired themselves to *Belterbert*, the best planted Town in the County of *Cavan*. And after the same barbarous manner were such of the *English* drawn out to the slaughter, as had gotten into the Castles of *Longford*, the Castle of *Tullogh* in the County of *Fermanagh*, or the Church of *Newtown* in the same County, and several other places; as appears by several examinations taken upon Oath, from persons that hardly escaped thence with their lives. And besides these other policies they used, some to distract and discourage them, others to dis-inable them to stand out to make any defence. As in several places the *Irish* came under divers pretences, and borrowed such Weapons and Arms as the *English* had in their houses; and no sooner got them into their hands, but they turned them out of their own doors, as they did at *Glaslough* in the County of *Monaghan*: And by the same means they very gently and fairly got into their possession all the *English* Arms in the County of *Cavan*: The High-Sheriff there being an *Irishman* and a *Papist*, pretending that he took their Arms to secure them onely against the violence of such of the *Irish* as he understood to be in Arms in the next County. And that they might the more easily effect the destruction of the *English*, and keep off the *Scots* from giving them any assistance, they openly professed to spare, as really they did at the first, all of the *Scottish* Nation; and pretended they would suffer them, as likewise all *English* *Papists*, to live quietly among them; hoping thereby to contain all of that Nation from taking up Arms, till they had mastered all the *English*, and that then they should be well enough enabled to deal with them. Thus were the poor *English* prepared for the slaughter, and so exceedingly distracted with the tumultuous rising of the *Irish* on all sides about them, as they could never put themselves into any posture of defence. And although in many places they made small parties, and betook themselves into several Churches and Castles, some of which were most gallantly long defended by them, yet did they not draw together in any such considerable body, as would enable them to make good their party in the field, against the numerous forces of the Rebels. The truth is, they did not very readily endeavour, or dexterously attempt it in any part of that Province, as I could hear of;

every

every man betaking himself the best he could to the care of his own house, and seeking how to save his own family, his goods within, and his Cattel without. And so while they kept singly apart, and singly stood up for their own private preservation, not joyning their forces together for the common safety, they gave the Rebels a fair opportunity, and a singular advantage, to work out with great facility their common destruction. Whereas, if they had deserted their houses upon the first notice of the rising up of the *Irish*, and in the several Counties put themselves into several bodies, under the commands of the chief *English* Gentlemen round about them, they had undoubtedly (how ill soever they were provided of Arms and munition) been able to have encountered the *Irish*, and to have beat them out of many parts of the Country, or at least, to have put them to some stand in their enterprize. Whereas, by the course they took, they most readily, *without almost any resistance*, exposed themselves to the merciless cruelty of the *Irish*, who at the very first (for some few days after their breaking out) did not in most places murder many of them: but the course they took, was to seiz upon all their goods and Cattel, to strip them, their Wives, and Children naked; and in that miserable plight, the weather being most bitter cold and frosty, to turn them out of their houses, to drive them to the Mountains, to wander through the Woods and Bogs; and if they by any means procured any other clothes, or but even ordinary rags to cover their nakedness, they were presently taken from them again, and none suffered to give them any kind of shelter by the way, relief, or entertainment, without incurring the heavy displeasure of their Priests and chief Commanders. And so they drove such of the *English*, whose lives they thought fit at that time to spare, clear out of the Country. Some of them took their journey towards *Carigfergius*, others towards *Colrain*, *Derry*, and other of the Northern Ports. Many who had gotten together and stood upon their guards, came to composition with their bloody assailants, and gave them their goods, plate and mony, for leave to come up to the City of *Dublin*. And having bought their license at so dear a rate, had Passes and Convoys assigned them by the chief Captains of the Rebels, and so came on of their way in great Troops of Men, Women, and Children. Out of the County of *Cavan*, as *M. Creighton*, who by his charitable relief of great numbers of them, preserved them from perishing) testifies in his examination, there passed by his house in one company 1400 persons, in another 500. from *Newtown* in the County of *Fermanagh*, in others lesser numbers; all without any weapons, or any thing else but the very clothes on their backs, which they suffered them not to carry away with them; but many were most barbarously stripped

*Adam Clowers
examination,*

of them, by those who undertook to give them safe conduct, or perfidiously betrayed by them into the hands of other Rebels, by whom some were killed, others wounded: and all in a manner whatsoever they had to cover their nakedness, taken from most of them; as may appear by the examination of *Adam Clover* of *Slonofy* in the County of *Cavan*, who being duely sworn, deposeth *inter alia*, That this deponent and his company that were robbed, observed, that 30 persons or thereabouts, were then most barbarously murdered and slain outright, and about 150 more persons cruelly wounded; so that traces of blood issuing from their wounds, lay upon the High way for 12 miles together, and many very young Children were left and perished by the way, to the number of 60 or thereabouts; because the cruel pursuit of the Rebels was such, that their Parents and friends could not carry them further. And further saith, that some of the Rebels vowed, That if any digged graves wherein to bury the dead Children, they should be buried therein themselves: So the poor people left the most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous beasts and fowls, and some few their Parents carried a great way to bury them. And this deponent further saith, that he saw upon the way a woman left by the Rebels stripped to her smock, set upon by three women and some Irish Children, who miserably rent and tore the said poor *English* woman, and stripped her of her Smock in a bitter frost and snow, so that she fell in labour under their hands, and both she and her Child died there. Thus did their mercy in sparing those miserable souls in this manner prove by much a far greater cruelty than if they had suddenly cut them off, as they did afterwards many thousands of *British* that fell into their hands. For now they starved and perished in multitudes upon the ways as they travelled along; and to those that outlived the misery of their journey, their limbs onely served to drag up their bodies to Christian Burial there denied unto them. For many of the Men, and most of the Women and Children that thus escaped, either to *Dublin* or other places of safety in the North, not long outlived the bitterness of their passage; but either overwhelmed with grief, or outwearied with Travel, contracted those diseases which furthered by hunger, cold, nakedness, ill lodgings, and want of other necessaries, struck deeply into *bodies* that had lived long at ease with much plenty, and soon brought them with sorrow to their graves.

THese were the first-fruits of this Rebellion which now began to dilate it self into the other Provinces, having covered over the Northern Parts of the Kingdom with fearful desolations. The first Plotters were yet undiscovered, but the great active instruments appointed for the execution of this horrid design fully appeared, and had already deeply imbrued their hands in the bloody massacres of the English. Sir *Phelim O'Neal*

being

Sir Phelim O
Neal's pro-
ceedings.

being the chief of that Sept, and now the person remaining of nearest alliance to the late Earl of *Tyron*, assumed to himself the chief power among the Rebels in *Ulster*; and by his directions guided the rest of his complices on, in the destruction of all the *English* there. He was one of very mean parts without courage or conduct; his education for a great part of his youth was in *England*; he was admitted a Student of *Lincolns Inn*, and there trained up in the Protestant Religion, which he soon changed after, if not before his return into *Ireland*, lived loosely, and having no considerable estate, by reason of the great engagement upon it, became of very little esteem in all mens opinions. Yet such were the over zealous affections of his Countrymen in this cause, their secrecy in attempting, their suddenness in executing, as by their forwardness to destroy the *English* and get their goods, he quickly over-run that part of the Country. He had prevailed so far within seven days after he first appeared in this Rebellion, by seizing most treacherously at the very first upon *Charlemont*, where the Lord *Causfeld* lay with his Foot-company, the Forts of *Dongannon* & *Montjoy*, as that in his Letter written to Father *Patrick O Donnell* his Confessor, bearing date from *Montjoy*, the 30. of *Octob.* he was able to brag of great and many victories. And presently after he had gotten such a multitude of rude fellows together, though in very ill equipage, as he marched down with great numbers of men towards *Lisnagarney*, near the chief Plantation of the Scots; (for that part of their plot to spare them, as they did in the beginning, they found now too gross to take, therefore they resolved to fall upon them without mercy) and yet left sufficient forces to come up into the Pale, to take in *Dondalke* in the County of *Louth*. Which was a Frontier Town in the last wars against *Tyron*, and so well defended it self, as with all the power he had, he could never recover it into his hands. There lay now a Foot company of the old Army, but the Lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his men in readiness, nor Arms or Munition, made little or no resistance, easily giving way to the forward affections of the inhabitants who delivered up the Town into the possession of the Rebels about the beginning of *November*, 1641.

Dondalke
taken by the
Rebels about
the begin-
ning of *No-
vemb.* 1641.

The Rebels presently after their taking in of *Dondalke* marched on further into the County of *Louth*, and possessed themselves of *Ardee*, a little Town within seven miles of *Tredagh*, anciently called *Drohedagh*. So as it was now high time to provide for the safety of that Town. The Lord *Moor* had already retired thither from his house at *Millifont*, and there remained with his troop of horse and two companies of foot. One was under the command of Sir *John Netterville*, eldest Son to the Lord Viscount *Netterville*. He discovered in the very beginning much virulency in his affections, by giving false frights and raising false rumours and

The Rebels
march up to-
wards *Tred-
agh*.

and making all manner of ill infusions into the minds of the Townsmen, who as it afterwards appeared, were but too forward to take part with the Rebels. It is verily believed they had in the very beginning some plot to cut off the Lord *Moor* and seiz upon his Troop; and that Sir *John Neitervoiles* part was to begin a mutiny, which he attempted that night he was to be upon the watch, by giving ill language, and endeavouring to make a quarrel with his Lordship, which he very discreetly passed over, and so carefully looked to the guard of the Town, as they could take no advantage to put on their design. Howsoever the Townsmen were extreemly frightened with the thoughts of their present danger, and the greater part of them being Papists, were ready to declare themselves for the Catholick cause; only their desires were, things might be so ordered, as would administer unto them specious pretences of necessity for the same. The *L. Moor* gave present advertisement unto the Lords Justices and Council, of the ill condition and most imminent danger he found the Town to be then in, that it was not possible to preserve it out of the hands of the Rebels without further strength both of hors and foot. That in case the enemy should make any sudden approaches, or attempt to surpriz the Town, he found such poor preparatives for defence within, such apparent signs of disloyalty in the Townsmen, and all things in such a desperate confusion, as they should not be able by the best endeavours they could use to give any good account of that place. Hereupon their Lordships presently resolved, to leavy in the City of *Dublin* a Regiment of foot, and to place them under the command of Sir *Henry Tichborn* for the defence of *Tredagh*. And for this purpose there was very opportunely in the hands of the Vice-treasurer 3000. li. in a readiness to be at that time sent over into *England*, for the satisfaction of a publick engagement there. This the Lords thought fit to make use of, for the leavying and setting out of those men which Sir *Henry Tichborn* got together in very few days, and having a Commission of government for the Town, with some other private instructions, he marched away with great alacrity and diligence the 3. of *November*, and hapily arrived next day at *Tredagh*.

The Lords granted another Commission to Sir *Charles Coot* to levy a thousand men more, which he most carefully endeavoured, and within a very short time made up his Regiment, wherein very many of the *English*, who came up stripped and despoiled out of the North, lifted themselves; for most of the men which escaped from thence with their lives, being better able to suffer then the women and children, outlived the miseries of their journey, and putting themselves into several companies, some of them had the contentment to revenge the barbarous cruelty used

The ill condition of *Tredagh*, represented by the *L. Moor* to the *L. Justices*

A Regiment raised by the *L. Justices* at *Dublin*, and sent down under the command of Sir *Henry Tichborn*, for the defence of *Tredagh*. *Novemb. 3.*

A Regiment raised by Sir *Charles Coot*.

by the Rebels towards them.

Upon the 5th of *November*, the Lords made their 2^d. dispatch unto His Majesty, still at *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*: At the same time they sent several Letters into *England*, to the L. Keeper, Speaker of the house of Peers, to the Speaker of the house of Commons, to the Lords of His Majesties most Hon. Privy Council, and to the L. Lieutenant of *Ireland*; in all which they did with much earnestness declare their present dangers, together with the necessity of sending sudden relief. In their Letter to the Lords of the Council they did more particularly set down the miserable estate of the whole Kingdom, and the large progress that the Rebellion had in few days made since it broke out. They represented unto their Lordships the great outrages the Rebels had committed upon the *British* inhabitants in *Ulster*, that they had seized upon all their estates and houses in five Counties of that Province, possessed their Arms, detained many of the principal Gentlemen prisoners; That they had already slain many, most barbarously hewed some to pieces, that they have exposed thousands to want and beggery, who had good estates and lived plentifully: That the Rebellion began then to diffuse it self into the Counties of *Longford* and *Letrim*, and to threaten the *English* plantations in the King and *Queens* County: that the inhabitants of the Counties of *Meath* and *Louth* began to fall upon the *English* near about them: that they conceived there could not be less than 30000 who had already openly declared themselves in this Rebellion, and were assembled together in several great parties; that they understood their design was, having got *Dondalke*, to take in *Tredagh*, and so to come up immediately to besiege the City and Castle of *Dublin*: that they gave out publicly, their purpose was to extirpate the *English* & *Protestants*, and not to lay down Arms until the *Romish Religion* were established, the Government settled in the hands of the Natives, and the old *Irish* restored to the lands of their supposed ancestors. That they held it their duty to acquaint their Lordships with the lamentable estate wherein the Kingdom stood, that his Majesty and the Parliament might understand it, and so speedily provide for sending over to their relief 10000 Foot, 1000 Horse, together with some able Commanders, 100000 l. in money, and further provisions of Arms: That unless these were presently sent to them (they craved leave to repeat it again and again) the Kingdom would be utterly lost, all the *English* & *Protestants* in *Ireland* destroyed, the peace of the Kingdom of *England* disturbed by the *Irish* from thence, and so *England* enforced to make a new conquest of it, for that a Politick reformation would then be impossible. But now before I pass further, I shall here give an accompt of the arrival of these and the former Letters of the 25 of *October*, addressed by the Lords Justices and Council to the L. Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Owen

The second dispatch made by the L. Justices and Council into *England* Nov. 5.

The proceedings of the Parliament of England upon the first advertisements brought unto them of the Rebellion raised in *Ireland*.

O Conally, the happy discoverer of the first Plot (who carried the first Letters over) arrived at *London* the last day of *October*, and late in the evening delivered those Letters to his Lordship, who having read them over, and received from him full information of all other particulars within his knowledge, repaired the next morning to the Council-board, and having there acquainted the Lords of His Majesties Privy Council with them, he was required by their Lordships to communicate them unto the Lords of the upper house of Parliament, which he did accordingly the very same morning: And they considering the high importance of them, as soon as they had perused them, Ordered that they should be presently sent down to the house of Commons, by the Lord Keeper, the L. Privy Seal, L. High Chamberlain, L. Admiral, L. Marshal, L. Chamberlain, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Leicester*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Berks*, Earl of *Bristol*, L. Viscount *Say*, E. *Mandevile*, L. *Goring*, L. *Wilmot*, all of them being of His Majesties most honorable Privy Council. There were Chairs provided for these Lords in the house of Commons, and they sat down there till the Letters were read, and then having informed the house of such other particulars as they had received concerning the general Rebellion in *Ireland*, they departed without any further conference or other debate upon them, leaving the house of Commons to consider further of them: Who presently Ordered,

That the House forthwith should be resolved into a Committee, to take into consideration the matter offered concerning the Rebellion in Ireland, as likewise to provide for the safety of the Kingdom of England.

This being done, they fell into a most serious debate of this great business then before them, they fully considered what means were fittest to be used at present for the prevention of the further spreading of that hideous Rebellion in *Ireland*, as well as stopping of the ill influence it might make upon their affairs in *England*, where great troubles even then began to appear within view. And after much time spent in this debate, they came to these several Conclusions, which being put to the question, were assented unto by the Committee, and so resolved as followeth,

1 That 50000. l. be forthwith provided.

2 That a Conference be desired with the Lords, to move them that a select Committee of the Members of both Houses may be appointed to go to the City of *London*, and to make a Declaration unto them of the state of the business in *Ireland*, and to acquaint them that the lending of monies at this time will be an acceptable service to the Commonwealth. And that they propose unto them the Loan of 50000. l. and to assure them that they shall be secured both of the Principal and Interest, by Act of Parliament.

3. That

3 That a select Committee may be named of both Houses to consider of the affairs of *Ireland*.

4 That *Owen O Conally*, who discovered this great treason, shall have 500. l. presently paid him, and 200. l. *per annum* pension, until provision of land of inheritance of a greater value be made for him.

5 That the persons of Papists of quality within this Kingdom, may be secured within the several Counties where they reside.

6 That no person whatsoever, except those who are Merchants, shall be admitted to go over into *Ireland*, without Certificate from the Committee of both Houses appointed to consider the affairs of *Ireland*.

These with several other particulars concerning *Ireland*, and tending in order to the safety of the Kingdom of *England*, were resolved upon the question, and Master *Whitlock* appointed to report them to the House as heads of a conference desired with the Lords concerning the affairs of *Ireland*, which was accordingly had with their Lordships the same day; At which conference the L. Keeper did express the very great sense the Lords had of the exceeding great care taken by the house of Commons for the prevention of the further spreading of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. And his Lordship by command of the Lords did further let them know, that their Lordships did think fit to agree with them in all those particulars presented unto them by the house of Commons without any material alteration, only adding such further things as they conceived might serve to further and expedite their desires in the more speedy putting them in execution.

The house of Commons having proceeded thus far in the affairs of *Ireland*, upon the two first days after the discovery made unto them of the Rebellion there raised, did notwithstanding their own present distractions, set apart some portion almost of every day that they sate, during the whole month of *November*, for the considering of the affairs of *Ireland*; and so upon the third and fourth of the same, resolved upon the question, and accordingly ordered these particulars following:

1 That the House holds fit that 20000. li. be forthwith supplied for the present occasions of *Ireland*.

2 That a convenient number of ships shall be provided for the guarding of the Sea-coasts of *Ireland*.

3 That this House holds fit that 6000 foot and 2000 hors shall be raised with all convenient speed, for the present expedition into *Ireland*.

4 That the Lord Lieutenant shall present to both Houses of Parliament, such Officers as he shall think fit to send into *Ireland*, to command any forces to be transported thither.

5 That Magazines of victuals shall be forthwith provided at *West-*
chester

chester to be sent over to *Dublin*, as the occasions of that Kingdom shall require.

6 That the Magazines of Arms, Ammunition, Powder, now in *Carlisle*, shall be forthwith sent over to *Knockfergus* in *Ireland*.

7 That it be referred to the Kings-council, to consider of some way, and to present it to the House, for a publication to be made of rewards to be given to such as shall do service in this Expedition into *Ireland*; and for a pardon of such of the Rebels in *Ireland* as shall come in by a time limited, and of a sum of money to be appointed for a reward to such as shall bring in the Heads of such principal Rebels as shall be nominated.

8 That Letters shall be forthwith sent to the Justices in *Ireland* to acquaint them how sensible this House is of the affairs of *Ireland*.

9 That the Committee of *Irish* affairs shall consider how, and in what manner this Kingdom shall make use of the friendship and assistance of *Scotland* in the business of *Ireland*.

10 That directions shall be given for the drawing of a Bill for the pressing of men for this particular service of *Ireland*.

These particulars, together with several others, being resolved upon the question, they passed an Ordinance of Parliament, enabling the Earl of *Leicester* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to raise 3500 Foot, and 600 Hors, for the present service there. And they further expressed their resolution, not to make use of the assistance offered unto them by their Brethren of *Scotland* further for the present, then for the furnishing them with 1000 Foot, which they desired might be transported out of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*. And on the same day they ordered, that the Master of his Majesties Ordnance should deliver to the L. Lieutenant of *Ireland* the number of 1000 Arms for Hors, & 8000 Arms for Foot, and ten Last of powder, to be presently sent into *Ireland*. And that the Lord Admiral should suddenly provide shipping for the transporting of Men, Arms, and Ammunition, and other provisions according to the former resolutions of the House.

Now while both Houses of Parliament were taking Order for raising men, money, and sending provisions and other necessaries for *Ireland*, there arrived those other Letters of the 5 of *November*, formerly mentioned, which being addressed to the Lords of his Majesties Privy-council, were communicated to both Houses of Parliament, and after a conference upon them, took further resolutions for the speedy sending away supplies into *Ireland*. And such were the forward affections and zeal of the House of Commons, to promote what concerned the service of *Ireland*, as they thereupon voted 200000 li. to be raised for the suppressing the *Irish* rebellion, & for securing of the Kingdom of *England*, & payment of the publick debts.

And

And that they might facilitate this great work of raising such a sum of money, upon the credit of an Act of Parliament, before the money could be collected throughout the Kingdom; they thought fit, for the better encouragement of the City of London, and for the giving them full satisfaction in point of security for the monies formerly lent them, to make this Order following.

THe Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having a due regard to the good affections of the City of London, expressed upon sundry occasions, by the advancing and lending of great sums of money, for the service of this Common-wealth: and particularly the sum of 50000 li. lent for the Irish affairs; and the sum of 50000 li. more lent by the said City unto the Peers attending his Majesty in the Northern parts before the beginning of this present Parliament, which are not yet paid, or otherways secured, shall be fully satisfied and repaid unto the said City of London, with interest of 8 li. per cent. for one year, out of such monies as are or shall be raised by Authority of Parliament. And for that purpose an Act of Parliament to be passed with all expedition. Provided alwayes that this present Ordinance shall not in any ways be prejudicial to any Members of the said House of Commons, who have formerly lent any sums of money to this Parliament, nor to the Northern Counties, nor to any persons whatsoever, to whom both Houses of Parliament, or the said House of Commons have formerly ordered the payment of any sums of money, nor to any security given to them, before the making of this Ordinance.

BUT I shall now return to the affairs of this Kingdom, and the serious consultations and means used here by the Justices and Council for the securing of the City and Castle of Dublin, which by reason of the present confusion, weakness, and wants, were in very great, and most apparent danger of a sudden surpriz.

And first for the Castle, Sir Francis Willoughby being made Governour, had a Company of an 100 men well armed, assigned for the constant guard of that place, besides the ordinary Warders, who gave their usual attendance there. And because the Lords conceived it might be dangerous in such desperate times to admit such a multitude of suitors of all sorts into the Castle, as had daily occasion to attend the Council-board, they presently transferred the place of their meeting in Council to Cork House, where they continued to sit a good time after, notwithstanding the great danger their persons were continually exposed unto, by the confident resort in great numbers of several Lords, Gentlemen and others, who within few dayes after declared themselves Rebels, and so went out among them. It was Gods immediate providence that preserved them, and suffered not those persons, who soon after became

such bloody Rebels, to lay hold on that opportunity. For certainly, they might with great ease have taken out of the way the Lords Justices and Council; and so have left all things in such confusion as would have brought on their long desired ends without any further contestation or trouble.

Order taken
for victual-
ling the Castle
of Dublin.

The next care was to provide victuals for the Castle in such proportions as might enable it to endure a siege, in case the Town, either through treachery within, or by forces from without, should come to be surprized by the Rebels, who now carried all things so clearly before them in the North, as they most confidently gave it out they would suddenly come down and make themselves masters of it. How to compass this, seemed a matter of great difficulty, in regard there was no money to be had for the performing this work so absolutely necessary in it self, and at that time so highly importing the safety and preservation, even of the whole Kingdom. Therefore the Master of the *Rolls*, upon whom the Lords were pleased to impose this service of victualling the Castle; took the advantage of the strange frights, fears, and little safety, all the *English & Protestants*, conceived both themselves and their goods to remain in at that time. He sent presently for some of the chief Merchants that were Protestants in the Town, and clearly represented unto them, the high necessities of the State, the great danger of the Town, the publick benefit, and their own private security, in laying into the Castle such of their provisions as they had lying by them, even in unsafe places of the City. These impressions took, and they rightly apprehending the common danger, that they could not outlive the ruines of the Castle; partly out of their own good affections to the service, partly out of a prudent care to secure their goods, were content to bring in great quantities of Beef, Herrings, and Corn upon the Master of the *Rolls* undertaking to see them satisfied, in case use were made of them, or otherwise certain restitution in kind to the several owners. So as there were presently laid in by the English and Dutch Merchants, within the Verge of the Castle, above 2000 barrels of Beef, 2000 barrels of Herrings, and a good proportion of Wheat; provisions sufficient, not onely to victual the Castle for many months, but which did serve to maintain the whole Army billeted in the City a long time after, and their money they received within few months after, by certificate from hence upon the Chamber of *London*; according to an Order made by both Houses of Parliament in *England*; for present payment to be made to such as laid in any provisions for the Army in *Ireland*. There was then further Order taken to new dig and clear an old Well long since stopped up within the walls of the Castle; and to provide all other necessities fit for a siege. This was the first step to the safety of this place, and gave great comfort and security to all the *English & Protestants*.

The

The Castle being thus happily provided for, the Lords took it next into their care how to secure the City in some sort, against any sudden attempts. And this proved a work not easy to be effected, not onely in regard of the craziness of the walls, the large Suburbs, and weakness of the place; but much more in respect of the corrupt ill affections of the Popish inhabitants within the City: So strangely were many of them deluded with the ill infusions of their Priests, as they did certainly (as we found afterwards by woful experience) do all that in them lay, to promote the rebellious designs then set on foot (as they believed) onely for the re-settlement of their religion, and recovery of their liberties, They were the instruments to convey away privately most of the chief Conspirators, who would have surprized the Castle on the 23. of *Octob.* They secretly entertained many of the Rebels that came out of the Country, they likewise sent them relief that were abroad, by secret ways, conveying as well Ammunition, as intelligence of all passages from hence. And such strong aversions had they against all contributions for the maintenance of His Majesties army; as in the very beginning of the rebellion, when the Lords sent for the Major and Aldermen, and laying before them the high necessities of the State, together with the apparent danger of the City and whole Kingdom, desired to borrow a considerable sum of money for the present, which they undertook to repay out of the next treasure that should arrive out of *England.* The Popish party among them was so prevalent, as that after a most serious consultation and very solemn debate among themselves, they returned this answer, that they were not able to furnish above 40. l. and part of that was to be brought in in cattel.

There remained at this time imbarqued within the harbour of *Dublin* four hundred *Irish* Souldiers, ready, as was pretended, to set sail for *Spain*, under the command of Colonel *John Barry*, who with some other *Irish* Gentlemen had procured leave from His Majesty to leavy certain numbers of voluntiers to be transported over for the service of the King of *Spain.* And those levied in other parts, as well as at *Dublin*, were brought together just at the very time designed for the execution of the great plot. The pretence was specious, but certainly their intentions how finely soever covered over, were to have those men in a readines together, at the very time appointed for the first breaking out of these unnatural troubles. And as for those men which lay within the Harbour of *Dublin*, they were so great a terrour to all the Protestant inhabitants in the City, as it exceedingly perplexed the Lords how to dispose so of them as might prevent the mischief justly feared, in case of their landing. Their Commanders had so handsomely ordered the matter, as though they were designed for a long voyage, yet stay on ship-board any longer they could not, by reason they had no vi-

The L. Justices care to provide for the safety of the City of *Dublin.*

Several *Irish* Souldiers imbarqued under pretence of being carried into *Spain*, at the very time of the first breaking out of the Rebellion.

Actuals,

ctuals, not even enough to carry them out of the Harbour; and no man had order in the absence of Colonel *Burly* (who retired himself some few miles out of the Town, the very evening before the Castle should have been taken) to provide for the further supplying of them. To suffer them to land, was to add so many instruments of mischief to those already gathered within and about the City. Therefore it was resolved that the Captain of the Kings Pinace then in the Harbour should by force keep them from landing, which he did several days together, till it was apparent they would inevitably starve, if a course were not suddenly taken to afford them some relief. Whereupon the Lords having no means to victual them aboard, gave them leave to land, having first taken order they should not come into the City.

Several Proclamations issued out by the L. Justices and Council.

The Lords Justices & Council thought fit within very few days after the landing of these men, the more to deter them, and all other ill-affected persons from repairing to the City of *Dublin*, to issue out a Proclamation for the discovery and present removal of all such as did or should come and continue there without just or necessary cause. But so careful were they in this, and all other their actions, not to give any distaste to the *Irish* or other inhabitants of the Country, as they forbore to inflict any punishment upon any that continued in the City contrary to their Proclamation, sparing several persons whom they had not onely just cause to be jealous of, but who were brought before them, and convinced to have uttered speeches clearly discovering their ill affections. And having by late Proclamations prorogued the Parliament, and adjourned *Michaelmas* Term, that under pretence of repair to either of them, unnecessary concourse of strangers might not be brought unto the Town, they proceeded on to some other Acts, which as they conceived would not only render great security to the City, but lessen the distempers abroad, bring safety to the *Pale*, and keep the dangers at distance, and far off from them. And for this purpose they being informed, that a multitude of the meaner sort of people were ignorantly involved in the guilt of this rebellion, and by the wicked seducement of the first Conspirators had been drawn on to despoile their *English* neighbour, they issued out a Proclamation about the beginning of the month of *November*, declaring unto all such as were not Freeholders within the County of *Meath*, *West-meath*, *Louth*, & *Longford*; that if they would come in and submit, make restitution of the goods so taken, they should be received to His Majesties mercy, and no further prosecution held against them.

Much about the time of the sending forth of this Proclamation, some of the chief of the Sept of the *Relyes*, and other prime Gentlemen in the County of *Cavan* sent up a kind of Remonstrance to the Lords Justices and Council. Whereunto they returned them a very fair answer, assuring them of their

readiness

readiness to give them all just redress of their grievances expressed therein, so they would in the mean time retire peaceably to their houses, restore as they were able the *English-mens* goods, and forbear all further Acts of rapine and violence. And they did presently send over their Remonstrance to the Lord Lieutenant, to be presented to His Majesty, according to their desires. But these ways of moderation and peaceable persuasions, proved of very little effect, they had no manner of influence into the resolved minds of the Leaders, or of operation upon the hardened hearts of the people; they were too deeply engaged, so slightly to retire. They had now drenched themselves in the blood of the *English*, and were greatly enriched with their spoils. It was not possible for them to make restitution, and they hoped to go through with the work & by the united power of the Kingdom to draw the whole managment of the affairs into their own hands.

And now likewise the Lords Justices and Council, that they might shew the great confidence they had in the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, and give them both opportunity and means to express their loyalty and affections to His Majesties service, resolved (according as the constitution of their affairs then required) to do some such Acts as might clearly persuade them of the great trust they really reposed in them. And therefore first they gave out several Commissions of Martial Law, for executing (without attending a proceeding according to the ordinary course of the Common Law) of such Traitors and Rebels as should be apprehended doing mischief in any parts of the Country about them. And these they directed to the most active Gentlemen, though all Papists, inhabiting in the several Counties, As, To *Henry Talbot* in the County of *Dublin*, *John Bellew* Esq; in the County of *Louth*, *Richard Dalton* and *James Tuit* Esq; in the County of *West-meath*, *Valerian Wesley* in the County of *Meath*, *James Talbot* in the County of *Cavan*.

Next they made choice of the chief persons of quality residing in the said Counties of the *Pale*, and others adjacent to them, to govern and command such forces as should be raised by them, and armed by the state for the defence of the Country, and issued out from the Council-board several Commissions of government unto them. As, One to the Earl of *Ormond* and the L. Viscount *Montgarret*, for the County of *Kilkenny*; to *Walter Bagnall* Esq; for the County of *Caterlagh*; Sir *Jam. Dillon* the elder, and Sir *James Dillon* the younger for the County of *Longford*; L. Viscount *Costeloe* for the County of *Maio*, Sir *Robert Talbot* & *Garra* Birne for the County of *Wiclow*; Sir *Christopher Bellew* for the County of *Louth*; Earl of *Kildare* for the County of *Kildare*; Sir *Thomas Nugent* for the County of *West-meath*; *Nicholas Barmwall* for the County of *Dublin*; L. Viscount *Gormanson* for the County of *Meath*. All these were made

A Remonstrance sent up to the Lords Justices and Council, from the Rebels in the County of *Cavan*.

Commissions of martial Law granted unto several persons by the Lords Justices.

Commissions of government of the several Counties within the *Pale*, granted to several Lords and Gentlemen, without distinction of Religion.

choice of without distinction of religion ; the Lords holding it fit at that time to put the chief persons of power in the Country into those places of trust ; hoping they might prove good instruments to oppose the threatening incursions of the Northern Rebels which they knew them well enabled to perform if they would really joyn in the service , or at least be kept by this their great confidence in them , from giving any entertainment or assistance to their rebellious designs.

The Commission directed to the L. of *Gormanston*, I have thought fit here to insert. It was found afterwards in his study by some of His Majesties army, when he and all the rest of the Governours that were of the *Romish Religion*, thus chosen , deserted their houses, and openly declared themselves in actual rebellion. The other Commissions were all of the the same tenour.

By

By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. Parsons.

John Borlace.

Right trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas divers most disloyal and malignant persons within this Kingdom have traiterously conspired against His Majesty, His Peace, Crown, and Dignity; and many of them in execution of their Conspiracy, are traiterously assembled together in a warlike manner, and have most inhumanely made destruction and devastation of the persons and estates of divers of His Majesties good and loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, and taken, slain, and imprisoned great numbers of them. We out of our care and zeal for the common good, being desirous by all means to suppress the said treasons and traitors, and to conserve the persons and fortunes of His Majesties loving Subjects here in safety; and to prevent the further spoil and devastation of His Majesties good people here, do therefore hereby require and authorize you, to levy, raise and assemble, all, every, or any the forces, as well Foot-men as Hors-men with in the County of *Meath*, giving you hereby the command in chief of all the said forces, and hereby further requiring and authorizing you as Commander of them in chief, to arm, array, divide, distribute, dispose, conduct, lead, and govern in chief the said forces, according to your best Discretion; and with the said forces to resist, pursue, follow, apprehend, and put to death, slay, and kill, as well by batel as other ways, all and singular the said Conspirators, Traitors and their Adherents, according to your Discretion; and according to your Conscience and Discretion to proceed against them, or any of them, by martial law, by hanging them or any of them till they be dead, according as it hath been accustomed in time of open Rebellion; and also to take, waste, and spoil their, or any of their Castles, Holds, Forts, Houses, Goods, and Territories, or other-

wise to preserve the lives of them, or any of them, and to receive them into His Majesties favour and mercy, and to forbear the devastation of their, or any of their Castles, Forts, Houses, Holds, Goods, and Territories afore mentioned, according to your discretion: Further hereby requiring and authorizing you to do, execute, and perform all and singular such other things for examination of persons suspected, discovery of Traitors and their adherents, parlying with, and granting Protections to them or any of them, taking up of Carts, Carriages, and other conveniences, sending and retaining espials, victualling the said forces, and other things whatsoever conducing to the purpose afore mentioned, as you in your Discretion shall think fit, and the necessity of the service require, further hereby requiring and authorizing you, as commander in chief, to constitute and appoint such Officers and Ministers respectively, for the better performance and execution of all and singular the premises, as you in your Discretion shall think fit. And We do hereby require and command, all and singular His Majesties Sheriffs, Officers, and Ministers, and loving Subjects, of and within the County of *Meath*, and the borders thereof, upon their faith and allegiance to his Majesty, and to his Crown, to be aiding, helping, and assisting to you, in the doing, and executing of all and singular the premises; This our Commission to continue during Our pleasure only; and for the so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Given at His Majesties Castle of DUBLIN, *Novemb. 1641.*

R. Dillon. Io. Temple.

Ia. Ware. Rob. Meredith.

To our very good Lo. *Nicholas*
Vic. Com. *Gormanstown.*

I N these Commissions it is very observable, that there was power given to these Lords and Gentlemen to whom they were directed, not only to use fire and sword, for the destruction of the Rebels and their Adherents, but also to preserve the lives of any of them, to receive them or any of them, into his Majesties favour or mercy. This plainly shews the very great confidence the Lords were pleased to repose in them; as also their desires to make them instruments, to deliver those multitudes of people that engaged themselves in this Rebellion, from the power, either of his Majesties arms, or civil justice. They intended nothing but the reducing of a rebellious Nation; and they at the first applied lenitives, which failing in the cure, they were afterwards then enforced to have recourse to more violent medicines.

That these Governours thus constituted, might be the better enabled according to the authority and power given unto them by their several Commissions, to undertake the defence of the Country in this high extremity of the near approaching dangers; The Lords took order to have delivered unto them a certain proportion of arms, to be employed for the arming of some men to be raised in each County for the common safety, besides the Arms they gave them, and other Gentlemen, for the defence of their own private houses. As to the Lord of *Gormanstone* there were delivered Arms for five hundred men, for the County of *Meath*. There were also delivered Arms for three hundred men for the County of *Kildare*. Arms for three hundred men for the County of *Louth*. Arms for three hundred men for the County of *West-meath*. Arms for three hundred men for the County of *Dublin*. And about the same time there were sent down four hundred Muskets, to the Lords of the *Ardes & Clandeboys*, for the arming of the Scots in the County of *Down*. All of these had powder, lead, and match, proportionable to their Arms, at the same time delivered unto them.

Arms and
munition de-
livered out
to the Lords
and chief
Gentlemen
of the *Pale*, by
the Lo. Justices
and Council.

But now the poison of this Rebellion which had hitherto contained it self within the Northern Counties, and the confines of them, began to be diffused into other parts of the Kingdom. It had already infected the Counties of *Leitrim*, *Longford*, *West-meath*, & *Louth*, lying contiguous unto them. And upon the 12 of *Novemb.* the *Irish* in the County of *Wiclow* brake out most furiously, despoiling, robbing, and murdering all the *English* inhabitants within that territory. They burnt all their fair well-built houses, drove away their Cattel, and laid siege to Fort *Carew*, wherein was a foot company of the old Army. The news being brought to the Lords Justices thereof, they well considered the importance of the place, and that if it were in the hands of the Rebels, and

Several
Counties
within the
Province of
Leinster de-
clare them-
selves for
the Rebels.

that whole County in their possession, they could expect little quietness, or even safety in the City, by reason of their near neighbourhood. Whereupon they were most desirous to have sent down forces for the relief of it. But when they came on the other side to consider their want of means for the performance of that service, that they had no money, but few men, and many of them not to be trusted; that it would be very dangerous to divide their small forces, and so to leave the City in a manner unguarded, they were enforced to lay aside that resolution, and with great grief to sit still and suffer the poor *English* in those parts to be exposed to the merciless cruelties of those barbarous Rebels who went on furiously with the work, and quickly cleared all that County of the *English* inhabitants. Within few days after, the *Irish* in the Counties of *Wexford* and *Caterlagh* began to rise likewise, and to follow the bloody examples of their neighbours. There were now also great apparencies of the disloyalty of the County of *Kildare*, who with large protestations under the pretence of doing service had gotten into their hands the arms and munition designed for them by the State. And so mysterious and doubtful was the carriage of the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *English Pale*, giving no manner of intelligence to the State of the proceedings of the Rebels, nor making any kind of preparatives against them, as their affections began even then to be justly suspected.

The sad condition of the City of *Dublin*.

So as the City of *Dublin* being the receptacle of the whole State, the Magazine of all the arms, munition and other provisions for the army, and the chief sanctuary of all the *English* and despoiled *Protestants*, was now reduced to a very sad condition, desperately encompassed on every side, the Northern Rebels being come down in two several parties with great forces, within 20 miles of it on the one side, and the Rebels of the County of *Wicklow* infesting it on the other side: which with the great resort of strangers, and the continual rumours of new plots and devices to surprize the Town, possessed the *Protestants* with extraordinary fears of their present danger. But that which made their condition appear much more formidable unto them, was the daily repair of multitudes of *English* that came up in troops, stripped, and miserably despoiled, out of the North. Many persons of good rank and quality, covered over with old raggs, and some without any other covering then a little twisted straw to hide their nakedness. Some reverend Ministers and others that had escaped with their lives, sorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the murders of their Husbands, Mothers of their children barbarously destroyed before their faces, poor infants ready to perish and pour out their souls in their Mothers bosom: some over-wearied with long travel, and so surbated, as they came creeping on their knees; others frozen up with cold, ready to give up the Ghost in the streets: others overwhelmed with grief, distracted with their losses, lost

also

also their senses. Thus was the Town within the compass of a few days after the breaking out of this rebellion filled with these most lamentable spectacles of sorrow, which in great numbers wandered up and down in all parts of the City, desolate, forsaken, having no place to lay their heads on, no clothing to cover their nakedness, no food to fill their hungry bellies. And to add to their miseries, they found all manner of relief very disproportionable to their wants, the Popish inhabitants refusing to minister the least comfort unto them: so as those sad Creatures appeared like living Ghosts in every street. Many empty houses in the City, were up by special direction taken up for them: Barns, Stables, and out-houses filled with them, yet many lay in the open streets, and others under stalls and there most miserably perished. The Churches were the common receptacles of the meaner sort of them, who stood there in a most doleful posture, as objects of charity, in so great multitudes, as there was scarce any passage into them. But those of better quality, who could not frame themselves to be common beggars, crept into private places, and some of them that had not private friends to relieve them, even wasted silently away, and so died without noise. And so bitter was the remembrance of their former condition, and so insupportable the burthen of their present calamity to many of them, as they even refused to be comforted. I have known of some that lay almost naked, and having clothes sent, laid them by, refusing to put them on. Others that would not stir to fetch themselves food, though they knew where it stood ready for them. But they continued to lie nastily in their filthy rags, and even their own dung, not taking care to have any thing clean, handsome or comfortable about them. And so even worn out with the misery of their journey and cruel usage, having their spirits spent, their bodies wasted, and their senses failing, lay here pitifully languishing; and soon after they had recovered this Town, very many of them dyed, leaving their bodies as monuments of the most inhuman cruelties used towards them. The greatest part of the women and children thus barbarously expelled out of their habitations, perished in the City of *Dublin*: and so great numbers of them were brought to their graves, as all the Church-yards within the *whole Town* were of too narrow a compass to contain them. So as the Lords took order to have two large pieces of new ground, one on each side the River, taken in upon the out-Greens, and set apart for burying places. These were the memorable spectacles of mercy, and of the great commiseration the Rebels used to those English, to whom they gave their lives for a prey. But what their sufferings were, before they could get out of the hands of those bloody Villains, what strange horrid inventions they used towards them, torturing and massacring those they there murdered, is reserved to be more fully related in its proper place.

They

The resort of multitudes of men, women and children to the City of *Dublin*, in a most miserable posture.

They are left upon record to posterity, under the oaths of many that escaped, and mentioned here to no other purpose, then to shew the strange horror and amazement the beholding of them bred in all the *English* and Protestant inhabitants of the City. They seeing the Rebels prevail so mightily, expected if they continued here to be undoubtedly exposed to the same cruelties. And they now understood by those who were come up from among them, that their design was; As soon as they had taken in *Tredagh*, to come and seize upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*, and so to make a general extirpation of all the *English*, root and branch; not to leave them name or posterity throughout the whole Kingdom.

The fears
and distractions
within the City
of *Dublin*.

It is easy to conjecture what a sad confused countenance the City then had: what fears, terror, and astonishment, the miserable spectacles within, and the approaches of the Rebels without, raised in the minds of an affrighted, distracted people. The *English* inhabitants looked upon all the horrid cruelties-exercised abroad, all the calamities and desolations fallen upon their Country-men in other parts of the Kingdom, as arrived at these gates, and now ready to enter: the Avenues all open, neither hope nor means, neither Rampires nor Trenches to keep them out. Notwithstanding the careful travels and endeavours used by the Lords Justices and Council to make provision for the common safety, no money could be raised, few men gotten together: the Papists well furnished with arms closely concealed, and desperately animated by their Priests to all manner of mischief: no Fortifications about the Suburbs, nor any manner of defence for the City, but an old ruinous Wall, part whereof fell down in the very height of these distractions. And so careless were the Citizens, and so slowly went they about the making up that breach, as under pretence of want of money, they let it lay open till the Lords sent unto them 40. li. toward the reparation. All things tended to a sudden confusion; the very face of the City was now changed, and had such a ghastly aspect; as seemed to portend her near approaching ruin: the means of safety appearing very slender and inconsiderable: the applications by reason of the strange aversions of the *Popish* party of a very slow and weak operation. Every man began to consider himself and his own private preservation. Those that lived in the Suburbs removed, with their families into the City. The Privy Councillours and persons of quality into the Castle, which became a common repository of all things of value. The Rolles were by special order removed thither: the Records of several other Offices were likewise brought in. But upon the Rebels advance some what nearer, and their frequent alarms, many of those who had there taken sanctuary, began to suspect the strength of those old crazy walls, and therefore to make sure, resolved to quit the Kingdom, im-

barquing

barquing themselves and their goods with all possible speed. Some who were detained with contrary winds in the Harbour chose rather to endure all extremities on shipboard, then to hazard themselves a shoar again. The *Scotish* Fishermen, who lay with their Boats in great numbers within the Bay, fishing for Herrings, having with much forwardness made an offer to the State to bring 500 of their men a shoar to be put in Arms and do present service (a proposition at that season most acceptable) were so strangely affrighted one evening with a false alarm, as that in the night, on a sudden, they put to Sea, and quite disappeared on these Coasts till the year following. The Papists on the other side being most confident that the City would be taken and sack'd by the Rebels, and fearing, lest happily they might be mistaken in the tumult and fierce execution, removed themselves and their goods with the same speed into the Country. And that which heightened the calamity of the poor *English* was, their flight in the Winter, in such a dismal, stormy, tempestuous season, as in the memory of man had never been observed formerly to continue so long together. Yet the terror of the Rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the rage of the Sea, most of those who could provide themselves of shipping, though at never so excessive rates, deserted the City: and such was the violence of the winds, such continuing impetuous storms, as several Barques were cast away; some in three months after their going from hence could recover no Port in *England*: and almost all that then put to Sea, were in great danger of perishing. The iniquities of the *English* Nation, which were very great in this Kingdom, were now full: Heaven and Earth seemed to conspire together for the punishment of them. God certainly declared his high indignation against them for their great sins werewith they had long continued to provoke him in this land, and suffered these barbarous Rebels to be the instruments of mischief and cruel executioners of his fierce wrath upon them. *But because they have taken vengeance with a despighful heart to destroy them, for the old hatred, He will certainly in His own time execute great vengeance upon them with furious rebukes, as he threatened the Philistines in the like case.* Exek. 25. 15, 17.



The Particulars of the first **Plot** of the
Irish Rebellion: Together with a brief Narration
 of the most notorious Cruelties and bloody Massacres
 which ensued in several parts of this *Kingdom*.

Concerning
 the first Plot
 of the Rebel-
 lion.



Hus we see what a great height this Rebellion was grown up unto, within the space of less then one month, after the very first appearance of it: What horrid murders, cruel outrages and fearful desolations it had already wrought in one Province, and what a powerful operation the cruelties there acted had upon other parts. But before I pass further, or come to declare the universal dilatation of it throughout the whole Kingdom, and how it pleased God even miraculously to bless the painful endeavours of the State, in the preservation of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, till the arrival of their long expected succours out of *England*: I hold it not amiss to look back, and (as far as the late discoveries and dark glimmerings we have into the first plot will admit) to trace it up to the first beginnings we find of it within this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Who were
 the plotters
 of it not yet
 clearly dis-
 covered.

Concerning the first Original of this great Conspiracy, as likewise the first plotters and contrivers of it, I must ingenuously confess, that I am my self much unsatisfied in the first conceptions of this monstrous birth, and therefore shall not now be able clearly to resolve others therein: I cannot yet determine who were the very first Contrivers, where the first debates were entertained, or who first sate in Council about it. This, as all other works of this nature, had its foundation laid in the dark, and sealed up no doubt with many execrable Oaths, the great Engines of these times, to bind up the Consciences as well as the tongues of men from discovery: Besides, they knew well enough, that the Plot being most abominable in it self, to be carried on with such

de-

detestable cruelty, should it take and be fully executed (which commonly gives to all other treasons applause and highest commendation) would certainly render the first Authors, as well as the bloody actors, most odious and execrable to all Posterity: Therefore it is not much to be wondered, that the first beginnings so mysterious and obscurely laid, remain as yet concealed with so great *Obstinacy*: But yet I am very confident, that upon view of several examinations, any reasonable man will conclude with me, that the very first principles of this inhumane Conspiracy, were roughly drawn and hammered out at the *Romish Forg*, powerfully fomented by the treachery and virulent animosities of some of the chief *Irish* Natives, and so by degrees, by them moulded into that ugly shape wherein it first appeared: There certainly it received the first life and motion, whether at *Rome*, whether in *Ireland*, or in any other place, I cannot yet determine; But my meaning is, it was first hatched and set on foot by those most vigilant and industrious Emissaries, who are sent continually abroad by the power of that See with full Commission, *per fas & nefas*, to make way for the re-establishment of the *Romish Religion* in all parts where it hath been suppressed. Great numbers of these wicked Instruments (the Laws against all of the *Romish Clergy*, being of late laid aside, and tacitely suspended execution) came over into *Ireland*: The main ground-work, and first predispositions to a Rebellion in general, were most undoubtedly with great dexterity and artifice laid by them; their venomous infusions taking such deep roots in the minds of a blind, ignorant, superstitious people, as made them ready for a change, the great ones mischievously to plot and contrive, the inferior sort tumultuously to rise up and execute whatsoever they should command.

And if we will give credit to several examinations taken, many of them from those of their own, we must believe the plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland*, of a very ancient date, as well as of a large extent: It had been long in contriving, and howsoever, peradventure first thought on in *Ireland*, yet received large contributions towards consummation out of *England* and other Foreign parts.

The general Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland* of an ancient date.

I have seen an Examination of one, who affirms he heard it confidently averred by *Malone* a Priest, one that stiled himself *Chaplain Major* within the *Pale*, that he himself had been seven years employed in bringing on this plot to perfection, and that he had travelled into several parts about it.

Master *Goldsmith* a Minister in *Conaught* told me, that he did, a full year before the Rebellion brake out, receive a Letter from a Brother of his residing at *Brussels*, wherein he gave him notice thereof, though so obscurely, as he well understood it not till afterwards.

Patrick O Bryan, of the Parish of *Galloom*, in the County of *Fermanagh*,

Francis Sacheveril Esq;
his Examination.

nagh, affirmeth upon Oath, that all the Nobles in the Kingdom that were Papists, had a hand in this Plot, as well as the Lord *Mac-Guire* and *Hugh Oge Mic-Mihown*; that they expected aid out of *Spain* by *Owen Roe O Neal*, and that Colonel *Plunket*, one of those that was to be an actor in the surpriz of the Castle of *Dublin*, told him, that he knew of this Plot eight years since, and that within these three years he hath been more fully acquainted with it. *Francis Sacheveril Esq;* hath deposed, that at several times shortly after the beginning of this Rebellion, he hath heard four several Popish Priests, viz. *Hugh Rely* of the County of *Down*, *Edmund O Tunnah* of the County of *Armagh*, *Morice Mac-Credan* of the County of *Tyron*, and *James Hallegan* of the County of *Armagh*, say, That the Priests, Jesuits and Fryers of *England*, *Ireland*, *Spain*, and other Countrys beyond the Seas, were the plotters, projectors and contrivers of this Rebellion and Insurrection, and that they have been these six years in agitation and preparation of the same, and that the said Priests did then expresse a kind of joy that the same was brought to so good effect: He also further deposeth, That at several times *Ever Boy Mac-Gennis* in the County of *Down* Gentleman, and *Hugh O Hagan* in the County of *Armagh* Gent. did brag and say, that they doubted not but that they should shortly conquer the *English* in the Kingdom, and enjoy the same quietly to themselves, and that they would not rest so content but they would raise strong Armies to invade and conquer *England*. *Roger Moor* one of the prime Conspirators, told Master *Colely*, then prisoner with him, that the Plot had been in framing several years, and should have been executed several times, but they were still hindered. By Letters sent from *Rome* to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and the Lord *Mac-Guire*, which were intercepted and brought to the Lord *Parsons*, though the Fryer that writ them doth not expresse any certain knowledge of this very Plot, yet thus much appears by them, that they had long desired to hear of the rising of the *Irish*, that the news of Sir *Phelim O Neal's* taking Arms was very acceptable to the Pope and his two Cardinal Nephews, assuring him of all assistance from thence, and further desiring him to send over an Agent to *Rome*, and to imploy several persons of his own Nation, whom he there named, then residing at *Madrid*, *Paris*, and with the *Emperour* they being fit Instruments, and such as he might make use of for the procuring succours from those Princes, whom he assured him would joyn to give him all assistance in this action.

The Irish
have had it
long in de-
sign to shake
off the Eng-
lish Govern-
ment.

Besides these, we have very many other presumptions that the *Irish* since they found their own strength, and that they were able to draw together so great numbers of men, as their several *Septs* so strangely multiplied during the late peace can now afford, have long had it in de-
sign.

sign to shake off the *English* government, to settle the whole power of the State in the hands of the Natives, and to re-possess them of all the Lands now enjoyed by the *British* throughout the Kingdom: And that in this plot they did but go about to actuate those confused general notions, and to put them in a way of execution. Now they supposed there could never be offered unto them a fairer opportunity than this most unhappy conjuncture of the affairs of great *Britain*, when *Scotland* lately in Arms, had by their own power and wise managements, drawn his Majesty to condescend to their entire satisfaction, as well in their Church discipline, as the liberties of that Kingdom. And in *England*, the distractions being grown up to some height, through the great misunderstanding betwixt the King and his Parliament, *Ireland* was at this time left naked and unregarded, the Government in the hands of Justices, the old Army dispersed in places of so great distance, as it could be of little advantage, the common Soldiers most of them *Irish*, and all the old Commanders and Captains, except some few, worn out and gone: This, as the first plotters thought, was the time to work out their own ends, and masking their perfidious designs under the publick pretences of Religion, and the defence of his Majesties Prerogative, they let loose the reins of their own vindictive humour and irreconcilable hatred to their *British* Neighbours.

I will not presume to say, they knew what would fall out in *England*, or what miserable embroilments that Kingdom was ready to break out into; for undoubtedly the first plot was laid, and most exactly formed many months before the War brake out betwixt the King and his people. But thus much I shall be bold to affirm, that upon the very first breaking out of this Rebellion, they did strangely conjecture, and beyond all appearance of reason, even somewhat positively divine, of the dismal breach and fearful distempers which afterwards followed to the disabling of the Kingdom of *England* from applying remedies towards the reduction of *Ireland*. For the attestation of this truth, I could produce the general concurrence of several circumstances, many private discourses and advertisements, as also a particular Letter which I had long by me, written as it seems, from a very intelligent Papist, a great Zealot in the cause, unto a Nephew of Sir *Toby Matthew's*, then in *Dublin*, who, though lately converted, retained yet a great friendship among them. He tells him in the beginning of the Letter, that he was desired from some well wishing friends, to advise him, as he tendered his safety and security, upon the sight of those instantly to forsake and abandon that troublesome and most unfortunate Kingdom, for God and man had speedily resolved to afflict and punish the overgrown impieties of these prophane times, all hearts and hands happily conspiring to it; and that he should be as

speedy in his passage as was possible, and rather, as the case stood, hazard all dangers by Sea, then the least at Land, to be sure not to stop in *England*, especially at *London*, that sink of sin (as he calls it) and center of disorders, for by that time he arrived there, he should be sure to find nothing but troubles, factions and desperate distempers; that he should dispatch therefore for *Paris*, or rather *Brussels*, where there should be order taken for the removal of all mistakes betwixt him and his Uncle. This Letter was written about the beginning of *November*, 1641. which was some few days after the breaking out of this Rebellion, and full six months before the taking up of Arms in *England*.

The Plot for a Rebellion in Ireland first discovered to the Lord *Mac-Guire* & others, about the time of Master *John Bellews* return out of *England*, with commission to continue the Parliament in *Ireland*, which was in *Jan.* 1640.

Now for the very time when this great Plot received its first form, though I conceive it of somewhat a more ancient date, yet by all the examinations I have hitherto seen, I can carry it up no higher then the month of *January*, 1640. and that it was about that time communicated to some of the chief Gentlemen of *Ulster*, the Lord *Mac-Guire* doth sufficiently testify as well in the relation written with his own hand in the Tower, and delivered by him to Sir *John Coniers*, then Lieutenant, to be presented to the Lords in Parliament, as also in his Examination taken before the Lord *Lambart* & Sir *Robert Meredith* Knight, in *Ireland*, *March* 26. 1642. In both these he acknowledgeth, that he being in *Dublin* in *Candlemas* Term, about the time when Master *John Bellew* came out of *England* with the Commission for the continuance of the Parliament in *Ireland*; *Roger Moor* acquainted him, that if the *Irish* would rise, they might make their own conditions for the regaining of their Lands, and Freedom of their Religion; and further saith, that he had spoken with sundry of *Leinster* to that purpose, who would be ready to joyn with them, as likewise a good part of *Conaught*, and that he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could draw to them the Gentlemen of *Ulster*.

Now for the manner of putting this Plot in execution, the said Lord *Mac-Guire*, doth further testify in his relation aforesaid, that the said *Roger Moor* having the next day acquainted *Philip O Rely*, *Turlagh O Neal* brother to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, Master *Cosloe*, and *Mac-Mahon* herewith, did propose, that first every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that Act, at least those that did live in one Country with them, and that when they had so done, they should send to the *Irish* in the *Low-countries* and in *Spain*, to let them know of the day and resolution, so that they might be over with them by that day, or soon after with supply of Arms and Munition, that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own Quarters should rise out that day and seiz upon all the Arms he could get in his own County, and this day to be near Winter, so that *England* could

could not be able to send Forces into *Ireland*, before *May*, and by that time there was no doubt to be made, but that they themselves would be supplied by the *Irish* from beyond the Seas. Then he told them further, that there was no doubt to be made of the *Irish* joyning with them, and that all the doubt was in the Gentlemen of the *Pale*; but he said, for his own part, he was really assured, that when they had risen out, the *Pale* Gentlemen would not stay long after, at least they would not oppose any thing; and that in case they did, that they had men enough in the Kingdom without them: Moreover, that he had spoken to a great man (who then should be nameless) who would not fail at the day appointed, to appear and to be seen in the Act, but that till then he was sworn not to reveil him, but yet that upon their importunity, he afterwards told them, it was the Lord of *Mayo*, who was very powerful in the command of men in those parts of *Conaught*, where he lived: He further saith, that in Lent following, Master *Moor*, according to his promise, came into *Ulster*, but that nothing was done there, but all matters put off till *May* following, where they met at *Dublin*, it being both Parliament and Term time, and that from thence they dispatched one *Tooly Conley*, parish Priest to Master *Moor*, to Colonel *O Neal*, in the Low-countries, who within few months after arrived with this answer from the said Colonel, desiring them not to delay any time in rising out, but to let him know of the day when they intended it, and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen days of that day, with good ayd; also desiring them by any means to seiz on the Castle of *Dublin* if they could. And further he saith, that during the time of these their private meetings, there landed at *Dublin*, Colonel *Birn*, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Brien O Neal*, and others, who came with directions to carry men away, and that these were acquainted with the Plot, and did offer their service to bring it on, and that they would raise their men under colour to carry them into *Spain*, and then seiz on the Castle of *Dublin*, and with the arms found there, arm their Souldiers, and have them ready for any action that should be commanded them. He further also saith, that they had divers private consultations about the carrying on of this conspiracy, not only at *Dublin*, but in several other places in the Province of *Ulster*, that they had set down several days for the putting of it in execution, but meeting with some obstacles, did not come to conclude of the certain time till about the beginning of *September*, and that then they peremptorily resolved on the 23. of *October*, for the day to execute this long designed plot in; and that they had respect unto the day of the week, which did fall on Saturday, being the Market-day, on which there would be the less notice taken of people up and down

down the streets; that they then settled what numbers of men should be brought up out of the several Provinces for the surpriz of the Castle, and what Commanders should lead them on, that seing the Castle had two Gates, that the *Lemster*-men should undertake to seiz upon the little Gate, which lay nearest to the place where the arms and munition was placed; and that the great Gate should be undertaken by those of *Ulster*, and that Sir *Phelim O Neal* should be there in person; but that he excused himself, because he resolved at the same time to seiz upon *London Derry*, and that thereupon by the importunity of the undertakers, it was imposed upon him the said Lord *Mac-Guire*, to be there in person at the taking of the Castle of *Dublin*. That it was further resolved what number of Forces should be brought up out of the other Provinces, to make good those places if possessed by them, and that Sir *James Dillon* did undertake to be there with 1000 men within four days after the taking of the Castle; as also that it was resolved that every one privy to that matter in every part of the Kingdom, should rise out that day and seiz on all the Forts and Arms in the several Counties; as likewise on all the Gentry, and make them prisoners, the more to assure themselves against any adverse fortune, and not to kill any but where of necessity they should be forced thereunto by opposition. These particulars, together with many other circumstances very considerable, are set down in the relation given in by the Lord *Mac-Guire*, while he remained prisoner in the Tower of *London*; but I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, because I find that relation published by authority, and so presented to the common view. We shall find also, that *Mac-Mahon* in his examination taken when he was first apprehended by the Lords Justices and Council here, doth testify that all the chief of the Nobility and Gentry in this Kingdom were acquainted with the first plot, and particularly, that all the popish party in the Committee sent into *England*, as likewise in both houses of Parliament knew of it: In the Examination of *William Fitz Gerald*, it is thereaffirmed, That Sir *Phelim O Neal* sending for him five days after his rising in Arms, told him, what he did was by directions and consent of the prime Nobility and Gentry of the whole Kingdom; and that what he had done in the Northern parts, the same was executed at *Dublin*, and in all other Forts and Towns throughout *Ireland*: As being a course resolved upon among the Lords and Gentry, for the preservation of His Majesties Prerogative, their own Religion and Liberties, against the Puritan faction in *England*, *Scotland* & *Ireland*; and that the Lord of *Gormonstone* knew of this plot while he was in *England*, is testified by Lieutenant Colonel *Read* in his

his Examination, as also by the Lord *Mac-Guire* in his relation; who saith, that Colonel *Plunket* told him, that he being at *London*, had acquainted some of the *Irish* Committe, and particularly the Lord of *Gormanstone*, with this plot, and that they approved it well: Colonel *Plunket* in his Letter to Father *Patrick Barmwal*, Lord *Abbot* of *Mellifont* (as he styles him) doth seem much to glory in the means he had used to incite the Lords and Gentry of the *Pale* to appear in that blessed cause (as he terms it) and assures him that the Lord of *Gormanstone*, whom he there calls Lord General, will go bravely on.

And now it will be no difficult matter to resolve what were the secondary steps and motions of this great plot, as well as by what persons it was wrought out in *Ireland*, and carried on to the very point of execution. And first it is to be observed, that howsoever Sir *Phelim O Neal*, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, Colonel *Mac-Brian*, *Hugh Mac-Mahon* and their adherents, chief of the *Irish* Septs in *Ulster*, and other Counties near adjacent, did first appear upon the stage, and by their bloody execution notoriously declare themselves chief Actors in this horrid Tragedy: Yet this Rebellion was either altogether not originally plotted by them, most of them had but subordinate notions of it, and they as other of the chief Nobility and Gentry throughout the Kingdom, had several parts assigned them to act at several times, in several places, and did but move according to the first resolutions taken, and such directions as they had received from the first Conspirators: I take it to be most probable, after the general plot came to be reduced into form, that as the Lord of *Gormanstone* was one of the first and chief movers in it, so he and the chief of the *Pale* joyned together to draw in (as they had done in all former Rebellions) the principal Septs of the old *Irish*, to engage themselves, and to appear first in the business: And after they had joyned together, and so finely ordered the matter, as they had made it a general rising, as Sir *Phelim O Neal* terms it, of all the Catholiks throughout the Kingdom, with the general consent of the prime Nobility and Gentry thereof; then, as it were, with one general voice, they sounded forth from all the four Provinces of *Ireland* the same language, they used the same Remonstrances, and made the very same pretences for their justification, they began the very self-same course, first in stripping, then banishing and murdering the *British* & *Protestants*, onely in the North, they drove on somewhat more furiously, and spilt much more innocent blood, then in any of the other three Provinces: They agreed likewise in recalling their Commanders, all the four Provinces had their particular Emisseries abroad: Those of *Leinster* brought back Colonel *Preston*, a Branch out of the House of *Gormanstone*, who had long lived with good reputation in

The first contrivers of the Rebellion did not first openly appear in it.

Flanders, and him they made General of their Forces there ; but of *Ulster* they sent into *Flanders* likewise for *Owen Roe O Neal*, upon whom they conferred the same charge in that Province : The *Munster* men brought over *Garrat Barry*, whom they made General of their forces : And those in *Conaught* drew back one of the *Burks*, to whom they gave the chief command of such men as they were able to draw together for the advancement of the common design : All these held a due correspondency, and in all their actions had a just concurrency towards the main end.

Roger Moor
the chief Per-
son employed
to make a-
conjunction
between the
meer Irish
and the Eng-
lish for rais-
ing a Rebel-
lion.

The great instrument chiefly employed in this work of drawing the meer *Irish* into a firm combination with the old *English* (as appears by the Lord *Mac-Guire's* relation before mentioned) was *Roger Moor* Esquire, a person of a broken fortune, by descent meerly *Irish*, and issued out of the chief family of the *O Moors* in the County of *Leax*, but by inter-marriages allied to some of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*; He Treated with them about the Association; he first broke the design to the Northern *Irish*, he was the man that made several journeys in *Lemster*, into *Ulster* & *Conaught*: Sundry messages were interchangeably sent and returned the Summer before the breaking out of the Rebellion by his means and *entercourse between them*; And all things were so ordred for their agreement, as they were to go hand in hand together; some of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, and others, were designed to joyn with the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Mac-Mahon*, *Brian O Neal*, *Con O Neal*, *Hugh Birn*, for the surpriz of his Majesties Castle of *Dublin*. *Cartan Major Domi* to *Owen O Neal* in *Flanders*, in his Examination taken *February 1641*. tells, among many other remarkable passages, of several preparatives to this Rebellion; as that *Con O Neal*, brother to *Daniel O Neal*, was sent by *Owen O Neal* into *England*, and that while he resided there he received letters from the President *Rosse* (which was *Sir Phelim O Neal*) and that he assured him he went on very well in his business; for *Brabant* & *Valence* were joyned together, which as he affirms, signified in those Characters *Ulster* & *Lemster*, and that he expected the coming of *Lewes Lenoy*, viz. *Daniel O Neal*: Besides, as *James Talbot* Esq; testifies in his Letter of the 9 of *November 1641* written to the Lords Justices out of the County of *Cavan*, that he understood from *Philip Mac Mulmore O Rely*, that there were certain Covenants passed between the Lords of the *Pale* and the Northern *Irish*, for the advancing of the Rebellion; and that the Remonstrance from the principal *Irish* in the County of *Cavan*, unto the Lords Justices and Council sent by *Dean Jones*, and Master *Waldrone*, there then Prisoner, was framed in the *Pale* and brought unto the said *Irish* by Colonel *Plunket*, one

one of their own : And this was in the very beginning of the Rebellion, long before any jealousies were entertained by the State of the adherence or conjunction of the old *English* with the *Irish*. What those Covenants or Contracts were, I cannot say, but it is most certain, some there were, and some Covenants also entred into, between the Northern *Irish*, and the Lords and Gentlemen of the chief of both the other Provinces, as well as *Lemster*, and these were signed with their blood, as Doctor *Maxwel* testifies in his examination, he heard Sir *Phelim O Neal* say on the 19 of December 1641 in his own house, and in the hearing of Master *Joseph Travers* and others : If the Lords and Gentlemen (meaning the Papists of other Provinces) then not in Arms, would not rise, but leave him in the lurch for all, he would produce his Warrant, signed with their own hands, and written in their own blood, which should bring them to the Gallows. And certainly, had there not been some very strange and extraordinary engagements, and more then I can well imagine, it had not been possible that so many persons of quality, having great possessions and many Children, should have declared themselves, after they saw the main part of the plot for the surpriz of the Castle of *Dublin* to fail, and the power of the Northern Rebels begin to decline, that the Parliament of *England* had with great alacitry and readines undertaken the War, and not only engaged themselves to his Majesty to send over powerful supplies both out of *England* & *Scotland* but by their publick Order of both Houses, sent over to the Lords Justices, and Printed at *Dublin* in the Month of *November*, fully declared their resolutions for the vigorous prosecution of the war of *Ireland* : Nay, the Cities of *Gahway* & *Limeric*, kept their designs very covertly, not doing any open acts of hostility, till after the arrival of some Forces at *Dublin* out of *England*, and that the siege of *Drohedagh* or *Tredagh* was raised, and those bold perfidious Traitors beaten back into the North, the Lords of the *Pale* banished by force of his Majesties Arms out of their own habitations, which were all spoiled and laid waste.

Now that then they should declare themselves, is more then a Miracle to me, and such a mystery, as I should not know what to think of, but that I find in the Lord *Mac-Guire's* relation before mentioned, that they were acquainted with the first beginnings of this great Plot, and had a particular interest from time to time in the carriage of it on, so as I think I shall not wrong them positively to determine, that they were too deeply engaged slightly to retire; and that howsoever upon the failing of it in the main piece, they at first stood at a gaze, and were put to take up second Counsels; yet such was the strength of the conspiracy, and their great confidence in the power of their

Arms, as made them appear in due time to entertain their several assignations, and act their parts with great diligence and industry. The wife of *Philip O'Rely* in the County of *Cavan*, told *James Talbot* (as he openly related it to the Lords Justices at the Council-board) that she wondred very much the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale* did not rise and joyn with them in the very beginning of this Rebellion, adding these words, or to this effect; That if they would have let us alone, and not set us on, we were so well at ease, as we would never have begun this troublesom work. It cannot certainly be imagined, that those of the *English Pale* (unless they had been the first projectors, or deep adventurers) would have yielded that the meer *Irish* should have seized upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*, places of refuge for them in all former troubles, and which would now have given them protection and safety against the incursions of the *Irish*.

The *Romish*
Clergy and
the *Popish*
Lawyers
great instru-
ments in the
first Plotting
and carrying
on the Re-
bellion.

The *Irish*
Lawyers
draw a great
party in the
House of
Commons to
adhere to
them.

But I hold it not necessary to produce further evidence in this particular; I purpose now to declare how those great Instruments of mischief, that were the supream conductors of this wicked design, moved forwards so successfully in the beginning, toward the accomplishment of their long intended extirpation of all the *British & Protestants* out of the Kingdom. I find two sorts of persons who did most eminently appear in laying those main fundamentals whereupon their bloody superstructions were afterwards easily reared up: And these were such of the *Popish Lawyers* as were Natives of the Kingdom, and those of the *Romish Clergy* of several degrees and Orders. For the first, they had in regard of their knowledge in the Laws of the Land, very great reputation and trust, they now began to stand up like great Patriots for the vindication of the liberties of the Subject, and redress of their pretended grievances, and having by their bold appearing therein, made a great party in the house of Commons, here then sitting, some of them did there magisterially obtrude, as undoubted maxims of Law, the pernicious speculations of their own brain, which though plainly discerned to be full of virulency and tending to sedition, yet so strangely were many of the Protestants and well meaning men in the house blinded with an apprehension of ease and redress, and so stupified with their bold accusations of the Government, as most thought not fit, others durst not stand up to contradict their fond assertions; so as what they spake was received with great acclamation, and much applause by most of the Protestant Members of the house; many of which under specious pretences of publick zeal to this Country, they had inveigled into their party: And then it was, that having impeached *Sir Richard Bolton*, Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*, of high Treason,

together

together with other prime Officers and Ministers of State that were of *English* birth, some of those great Masters took upon them with much confidence to declare the Law, to make new expositions of their own upon the Text, to frame their *Queries*, challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilful, over-grown misgovernment, then to be made against an Authority, that had for many years struggled against the beloved irregularities of a stubborn people, and which had prevailed far beyond former times, towards the allaying of the long continued distempers of the Kingdom: they disdained the moderate qualifications of the Judges, who gave them modest answers, such as the Law and duty to their Sovereign would admit. But those would not serve their turn, they resolved upon an alteration in the Government, and drawing of it wholly into the hands of the Natives, which they knew they could not compass in a Parliamentary way, and therefore onely made preparatives there, and delivered such desperate maxims, which being diffused abroad would fit and dispose the people to a change: As they declared it to be Law, That being killed in Rebellion, though found by matter of record, would give the King no forfeiture of estates: That though many thousands stood up in Arms in a Kingdom, working all manner of destruction, yet if they professed not to rise against the King, that it was no Rebellion: That if a man were out-lawed for Treason, and his Land thereby vested in the Crown or given away by the King, his heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverse the Out-lawry, and recover his Ancestors estate. And many other positions of a perilous consequence, tending to sedition and disturbance, did they continue to publish during that Session, and by the power and strength of their party, so far did they prevail at last, as they presumed to attempt a suspension of *Poynings* Act, and indeed intended the utter abrogation of that Statute, which remains as one of the greatest ties and best monuments the *English* have of their entire dominion over the *Irish* Nation, and the annexion of that Kingdom to the imperial Crown of *England*. They further assumed power of Judicature to the Parliament in criminal and capital offences: A right which no former age hath left any president for, neither would this admit the example.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the Session of Parliament begun in *May*, till about two months before the first breaking out of this Rebellion; it being very ill taken, that even then they were adjourned. And this they have since aggravated as a high crime against the Lords Justices, and as one of the chief moving causes to the taking up of Arms generally throughout the Kingdom.

But to let those things pass, how finely soever these proceedings

were carried on, and being covered over with pretences of zeal and publick affection, passed then currant without any manner of suspicion; yet now the eyes of all men are opened, and they are fully resolved that all these passages, together with the other high contestations in Parliament, not to have the newly raised *Irish Army* disbanded, the importunate solicitation of their Agents in *England*, to have the old Army in *Ireland* cashiered, and the Kingdom left to be defended by Trained Bands of their own Nation. As likewise the Commissions procured by several of the most eminent Commanders now in Rebellion, for the raising men to carry into *Spain*, were all parts of this Plot, Prologues to this ensuing Tragedy, Preparatives, such as had been long laid to bring on the suddain execution of this most bloody design, all at one and the same time throughout the Kingdom.

The means
used by the
Priests and
Jesuits to stir
up the people
to rebel.

Now for the Jesuits, Priests, Fryers, and all the rest of the viperous fraternity belonging to their holy Orders; who, as I said, had a main part to Act, and have not failed with great assiduity and diligence to discharge the same. They lost no time, but most dexterously applied themselves in all parts of the Country to lay such other dangerous impressions in the minds, as well of the meaner sort as of the chief Gentlemen, as might make them ready to take fire upon the first occasion. And when this Plot was so surely, as they thought, laid, as it could not well fail, and the day once prefixed for execution; they did in their publick Devotions long before, recommend by their Prayers, the good success of a great design, much tending to the prosperity of the Kingdom, and the advancement of the Catholick cause. And for the facilitating of the Work, and stirring up of the people with greater animosity and cruelty to put it on at the time prefixed; they loudly in all places declaimed against the Protestants; telling the people that they were Hereticks, and not to be suffered any longer to live among them; that it was no more sin to kill an *English-man*, then to kill a dog; and that it was a most mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them. Then also they represented with much acrimony the severe courses taken by the Parliament in *England*, for the suppressing of the *Romish Religion* in all parts of the Kingdom, and utter extirpation of all professors of it. They told the people that in *England* they had caused the Queens Priest to be hanged before her own face, and that they held her Majesty in her own person under a most severe Discipline: That the same cruel Laws against Popery were here ordered to be put suddainly in execution; and a design secretly laid for bringing and seizing upon all the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in *Ireland* upon the 23 of *November* next ensuing, and so to make a general Massacre

of all that would not desert their Religion and presently become Protestants.

And now also did they take occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and ancient animosities against the *English* Nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard Masters; under whose Government, how pleasant, comfortable and advantageous so ever it was, they would have the world believe they had endured a most miserable captivity and enslavement. They looked with much envy upon their prosperity, considering all the Land they possessed (though a great part bought at high rates of the Natives) as their own proper inheritance. They grudged at the great multitudes of their fair *English* Cattel; at their goodly Houses, though built by their own industry at their own charges; at the large improvements they made of their Estates, by their own travells and careful endeavours. They spake with much scorn and contempt of such as brought little with them into *Ireland*, and having there planted themselves, in a little time contracted great fortunes: they were much troubled, especially in the *Irish* Countrys, to see the *English* live handsomely, and to have every thing with much decency about them, while they lay nastily buried, as it were, in mire and filthiness; the ordinary sort of people commonly bringing their Cattel into their own stinking Creates, and there naturally delighting to lie among them. These malignant considerations made them with an envious eye impatiently to look upon all the *British* lately come over into the Kingdom. Nothing less then a general extirpation will now serve their turn; they must have restitution of all the Lands to the proper Natives, whom they take to be the ancient proprietours, and onely true owners, most unjustly despoiled by the *English*, whom they hold to have made undue acquisitions of all the Land they possess by gift from the Crown, upon the attainder of any of their Ancestors.

The *Irish* revive their ancient animosities against the *English*.

And so impetuous were the desires of the Natives to draw the whole Government of the Kingdom into their own hands, to enjoy the publick profession of their Religion, as well as to disburden the Country of all the *British* inhabitants seated therein, as they made the whole body of the State to be universally disliked; represented the several members as persons altogether corrupt and ill affected; pretended the ill humours and distempers in the Kingdom to be grown to that height as required Cauteriers, deep incisions; and indeed nothing able to work so great a cure, but an universal Rebellion. This was certainly the disease, as appears by all the symptoms, and the joynt concurrence in opinion of all the great Physicians that held themselves wise enough to propose remedies, and prescribe fit applications

The ends proposed by the first plotters of the rebellion.

The true causes of the Rebellion,

to so desperate a Malady. In those Instructions privately sent over into England by the Lord Dillon of Costeloz, presently after the breaking out of the Rebellion, the alteration of the Supream power in the government and setting of it in the hands of the Earl of Ormond, giving leave to the Grand Council of the Kingdom to remove such Officers of State, as they thought fit, and to recommend Natives to their places, were there positively laid down to be a more likely means to appease these tumults than a considerable Army. In the Remonstrance of the County of Longford, presented about the same time to the Lords Justices, by the same Lord Dillon, as also in the frame of the Common-wealth, found at Sir John Duncars House, not far from Dublin, and sent up thither out of Conaught to be Communicated to those of Lemster; pieces which publickly appeared soon after the breaking out of the Rebellion; the main points insisted upon in them and several others, were restauration of the Publick profession of the *Romish Religion*; restitution of all the Plantation-lands unto the Natives, and settlement of the present Government in their hands. All the Remonstrances from several parts, and that came out of the several Provinces of the Kingdom do concur in these Propositions, with very little or no difference. And therefore that the desires with the first intentions of those who are now out in Rebellion, may more clearly appear; I have thought fit here to insert them as I found them, Methodically digested into certain Propositions, termed.

The Means to reduce this Kingdom unto Peace & Quietness.

1 **T**hat a general and free pardon without any exception be granted to all His Majesties Subjects of this Kingdom; and that in pursuance thereof, and for strengthening the same, an Act of Abolition may pass in the Parliament here.

2 That all marks of National distinctions between English and Irish may be abolished and taken away by Act of Parliament.

3 That by several Acts of Parliament to be respectively passed here and in England, it be declared that the Parliament of Ireland hath no subordination with the Parliament of England, but that the same hath in it self Supream Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, as absolute as the Parliament of England there hath.

4 That the Act of 12 Henry the seventh, commonly Called Poynings Act, and all other Acts expounding or explaining the same, may be repealed,

5 That

5 That as in England there past an Act for a Triennial Parliament, there may pass in Ireland another for a Sexennial Parliament.

6 That it may be enacted by Parliament, that the Act of the 2d. of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland; and all other Acts made against Catholics, or the Catholick Religion, since the twentieth year of King Henry the eighth may be repealed.

7 That the Bishopricks, Deanaries, and all other spiritual promotions of this Kingdom, and all Frieries and Nunneries, may be restored to the Catholick owners, and likewise all impropriations of Tythes, and that the Scits, Ambits, and Precincts of the Religious houses of the Monks, may be restored to them; but as to the rest of their temporal possessions, it is not designed to be taken from the present proprietors, but to be left to them untill God shall otherwise incline their own hearts.

8 That such as are now entitiled Catholick Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, or other Dignitaries in this Kingdom by donation of the Pope, may, during their lives, enjoy their spiritual promotions; with protestation nevertheless, and other fit clauses to be laid down for preservation of his Majesties rights of Patronages, First-fruits, and twentieth-parts in manner and quantity, as now his Highness receives benefit thereby.

9 That all inquisitions taken since the year 1634 to entitle his Majesty to Conaught, Thomond, Ormond, Eliogarty, Kilnemanagh, Duheara, Wicklow and Idvagh, may be vacated, and their estates secured, according to his Majesties late graces.

10 That an Act of Parliament may pass here for the securing the Subjects title to their severall estates against the Crown, upon any title accrewed unto it before 60 years, or under colour or pretext of the present commotions.

11 That all Plantations made since the year 1610 may be avoided by Parliament, if the Parliament shall hold it just, and their possessions restored to them or their Heirs, from whom the same were taken, they nevertheless answering to the Crown the Rents and services proportionable, reserved upon the undertakers.

12 That the transportation of all native Commodities to all places of the world in peace with his Majesty, may be free and lawful, his customs first paid, and that the Statutes of 10, 11 & 13 of Queen Elizabeth, for restraining the exportation of native Commodities be repealed.

13 That all preferments Ecclesiastical, Civil and Martial in this Kingdom, that lie in his Majesties gift, may be conferred on Natives of this Kingdom onely, such as his Majesty shall think meet, without any distinction for Religion, Provided alwayes that upon the Princes of his blood of England, he may bestow what places he shall think meet.

14 That a Marshal and Admiral of this Kingdom may be elected in it, to

have perpetual succession therein with the same prebeminence, authority and jurisdiction as they respectively have in England, and that the said places be ever conferred upon Noble-men, Natives of this Kingdom.

15 That there may be Trained Bands in all Cities, Towns Corporate, and Counties of this Kingdom, Armed and provided at the charge of the several Counties, Cities, and Towns, and commanded by the Natives of the same, who shall be named by the Counties, Cities and Towns respectively.

16 That his Majesty may release all Tenures in Capite and by Knights-service; in consideration whereof, he shall receive a settled revenue of 12000 li. per annum, being double the sum which he casually receives by them; Reliefs, Seisines, Licenses for Alienations, Esuage and Aids nevertheless to remain.

17 That all Monopolies may be for ever taken away by Act of Parliament.

18 That such new Corporations as have not the face of Corporate-Towns, and were erected to give voices in the Parliament, may be dissolved, and their Votes taken away, and hereafter no such to be admitted to Voices in Parliament.

19 That there may be Agents chosen in Parliament or otherwise, as thought meet to attend continually his Majesty, to represent the grievances of this Nation, that they may be removeable by such as did elect them; and in case of death or removance, others may be for ever successively substituted in that place, and that such Agents may enjoy the freedom of their conscience in Court, and every where else.

These are the means proposed by these Catholick Remonstrants, for reducing of the Kingdom to peace, these the great obstructions they would have removed, and the constant Counsel they would have followed, in settling the tranquillity and present government of this Land; so as we need seek no further evidence, nor make any more curious enquiries into the secret causes of their first rising: we have here enough out of their own mouths, to resolve the most scrupulous unbeliever of their first motives to this Rebellion. And now for the matter of Religion, howsoever I am very confident they ever really intended the re-establishment of that of the Church of Rome, with all the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, together with the utter extirpation of all of the Reformed profession: Yet considering the large indulgence and free liberty they universally enjoyed at that time in the full exercise of that their Religion throughout all the parts of the Kingdom; it may be most justly suspected (how zealously soever they now obtrude it) that this was only the bare outward cover-
ture

The re-establishment of the Romish Religion only a pretence for the Rebellion.

ture made use of by the principal undertakers, to draw on a poor ignorant superstitious people to sacrifice their lives in this quarrel. Neither can it by any reasonable man be ever presumed, that such persons as made no Conscience of committing Treason, so many cruel Murders, and all other kind of abominable Villanies, not to be parellel'd in any other Country, could be drawn meerly out of Conscience towards God, to act these for the regaining of the free and publick profession of their Religion.

This certainly was no more the true and main cause of their taking up Arms, then the redress of their pretended grievances, whereunto his Majesty had condescended, and out of his inclinations for their present relief, had given much more satisfaction to their Agents lately in *England*, then ever they could in any other time expect to receive or hope to enjoy. Yet we see how little effect those great graces brought over not above two months before this Rebellion brake out, took among them: for presently after the return of their Agents with them, this most detestable conspiracy, which had been long in hatching, began to work, and to be put in execution. And if we shall consider their main design and chief ends therein, as they appear in their first principles, or will give credit to the several speeches and passages that we meet with among the Rebels, in the very beginning of their breaking out; as also to several other testimonies that have since privately fallen from some particular persons among them, we must believe that their design clearly was to destroy and root out all the *British & Protestants* planted within this Kingdom, to cut off the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, and so to deliver themselves from their long continued subjection to the *English Nation*.

All the grievances of the Kingdom redressed before the Rebellion brake out.

But to come to one main particular, taken into debate by the prime Movers and chief Incendiaries in this horrid Rebellion, they had a most serious consultation what course to take with most safety to themselves, for the disburdening of the Kingdom of those multitudes of *English*, which were in very great numbers dispersedly planted among them. Some were of opinion that they should spare their lives, not render themselves guilty of the spilling of so much innocent blood, but that they should seiz on their goods, expell them their habitations, and after banishing them out of the Kingdom, proceed as the *Spaniards* did with many hundred thousands of the *Moors*, whom, as it were in a moment, they cleared out of their Dominions. Others there were who much opposed this kind of lenity and moderation, remonstrating the high inconveniences

A consultation held, whether it will be best to murder, or only to banish all the *British* out of *Ireland*.

The Irish resolve to root the English out of Ireland.

Master Creighton in his Examination.

which would inevitably redound to themselves thereby. First, That the *British* were in so great numbers, as they could not either by disarming, imprisoning, or any other means possible, ever hope to secure them from mischief: Then that if they onely expelled them out of the Kingdom, they would remain still as so many fit instruments to be entertained in *England*, and from thence returned back full of revengeful thoughts to recover their losses; that by their long experience and knowledge in the Country they would be better guides, more deeply engaged to prosecute the War; and having their bodies inured to this Climate, would prove much more able Souldiers then any new men that could be raised, or any other-ways brought over. How they determined this particular I shall not undertake to declare; my intelligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the result of this great Council then appears in the bloody effects and horrid executions acted in the first beginnings of their Rebellion, It is most probable they came to no positive conclusion, but left the chief Actors in this particular at large, to do as should seem good to themselves. We find their first proceedings and outrages committed upon the *English* very various and much differing in several places; some onely stripping and expelling of them; others murdering Man, Woman and Child without mercy. But this is certain, and of most unquestionable truth, that by one means or other, they resolved universally to root all the *British* & *Protestants* out of *Ireland*. And that these were the first thoughts and bitter fruits of the long premeditated malicious intentions, sufficiently appears by their Actions, as well as by their virulent expressions uttered upon their first rising, when they thought the Kingdom their own: They then said openly, that they meant to destroy the *English*, and that they had made a Covenant no *Englishman* should set footing among them. Some of the *Irish* would not endure the very sound of that language; but would have penalties inflicted upon them that spake *English*, and all the *English* names of places changed into the old *Irish* denominations: others professed that they would not leave an *English* man or woman alive in the Kingdom, but that all should be gone, no not so much as an *English* Beast, or any of the breed of them.

The Irish in many places killed English Cows and Sheep miserly because they were English; in some places they cut off their legs, or took out a piece out of their buttocks, and so let them remain still alive. The Lord Montgarrat, Master Edward Butlar, the Baron of Logmouth went with their Forces into Munster about the beginning of the rising of the Irish there, and while they remained about Callen and Mallow, they consumed no less then 30000 others say 100000 English Sheep, besides a great abundance of English

James

James Hallegan the Priest did read an Excommunication in the Church, which, as he alledged, came from their great Irish Metropolitan, and terrifying his Parishioners therewith he told them, that from that day forth, whosoever did harbour or relieve any Scot, English or Welchman, or give them Alms at their doors, should be excommunicated, whereby as Master Sacheveril testifies in his Examination many were starved and died for want in those parts. We have it from Master Creighton, a reverend Minister, one long detained prisoner within the County of Cavan, that the Fryers exhorted the people with tears to spare none of the English; that the Irish were resolved to destroy them out of the Kingdom; that they would devour (as their very word was) the seed of the English out of Ireland, and when they had rid them there, they would go over into England, and not leave the Memorial of the English Name under Heaven.

And so fond and vain were their imaginations, and to such a height of madness were they grown, as they could not terminate their thoughts in the reduction of Ireland under the power of their own Nation. But as soon as they had begun their Rebellion there, they spake confidently in all places of transporting their Arms into England, That they would send 30000 men over into that Kingdom, and that they would draw in foreign Auxiliaries thither to joyn with them; and so by a high hand establish the free exercise of the Romish Religion within that Kingdom. A design certainly

Cattel, and such as they could not eat, yet they killed and left in great multitude, stinking, to the great annoyance of the Country. This testified by Henry Champart in his Examination taken before Sir Robert Meredith Knight, &c.

James Shaw a Minister deposeth, That after the Cessation, divers of the Rebels confessed the Priests had given them the Sacrament, upon condition they should not spare Man, Woman nor Child that were Protestants; and that he heard divers of them say, in a bragging manner, that it did them a great deal of good to wash their hands in the blood of the Protestants whom they had slain. Jurat. Jan. 7. 1643.

Thomas Johnson Vicar of Tullah, of the County of Mayo, deposeth, that he heard Stephen Linoh Prior of Strade, being asked if it were not lawful to kill this Deponent because he would not go to Mass; answered, That it was as lawful for them to kill him, as to kill a Sheep or a Dog: and divers of the rebellious Souldiers told him to his face, that they would no more care to kill him, then they would do a Pig.

John Addis of the County of West-meath deposeth, That Robert Magohagan Priest, said to this Deponent, That it was no more pny nor Conscience to take Englishmens lives or goods from them, then to take a bone out of a Dogs mouth, Jurat. July 21. 1642.

tainly which the Priests and Jesuits had taken up in their own thoughts, and by their correspondencies abroad intended powerfully to bring about, as soon as they had settled their affairs in *Ireland*. And if it had not pleased God in an Extraordinary way to bring the first Plot to light, and so to bless the weak endeavours of the State here, as to enable them by the assistance of those small Forces they confusedly gathered together, to hold out till the arrival of the Succours sent out of *England*; I leave it to every one to consider with how much advantage they might have gone on at that time towards the accomplishment of so desperate a Project. And for my self, I must profess that I am clearly resolved, that had they at first overmastered the unexpected difficulties and fatal impediments they met withall at home, and possessed themselves of the Arms and Munition within the Castle of *Dublin*, and so flesht and blounded in the slaughter of many thousands of the *English* Nation, had transported a numerous Army of *Irish* Rebels, and suddainly landed them in some good Port within the Kingdom of *England*: They would have prevailed very far towards the miserable desolation and ruine thereof. It must be remembred in what a most unhappy discomposure the affairs were at that time there; what a diseased body the State then had, and what high distempers then strongly working soon after brake out; what a strong party they might have found within; and with what great reputation they would have marched on under the glory of their late victories atchieved in *Ireland*, signalizing the power of their Arms with such horrid cruelties and bloody butcheries, as would have wrought a strange terror among the people.

Thus we see what were the Causes and first Motives to this unnatural Rebellion; as likewise who were the chief Actors and the great instruments designed by the first Plotters to predispose the people to a readiness to take Arms for the rooting out of the *British* Inhabitants from among them. The Preparatives being all made, the Plot in all points ripe for execution, it was carried on to the very evening before the day appointed for the taking of the Castle of *Dublin* without discovery. And though it pleased God to bring it then to light (as hath been declared) and so happily to disappoint it in the main Piece, yet it took in the Northern parts, being that very day fully executed in most of the chief places of strength within the Province of *Ulster*. And whereas the Priests did long before in their publick Devotions at Mass pray for a blessing upon a great design they had then in hand; so now, as I have heard,

heard, they did in many places, the very day before the breaking out of this Rebellion, give the people a dismiss at Mass, with free liberty to go out and take possession of all their Lands, which they pretended, unjustly detained from them by the *English*; as also to strip, rob, and despoil them of all their Goods and Cattel. They had without doubt, by one means or other, either private or publick instructions, not to leave to the *English* any thing that might afford the least comfort or hope of longer subsistence among them. This was the main bait used to draw on the common people; and this wrought far more powerfully than all other perswasions, fictions or wild *Chimeras* that they infused into them. It is most apparent, that the prime Gentlemen in all parts, as well as their Clergy, pressed them on to despoil the *English* of all the Goods and Cattel, well knowing their avaricious humour and greedy desires to get them into their possession, and that they could not possibly find out any other thing that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more desperately to execute all manner of villanies, then the hopes of enjoying so rich a prey now presented unto them.

The *English* goods presented to the *Irish* as a chief means to raise them up against them.

The people being now set at liberty, and prepossessed by their Priests with a belief that it was Lawful for them to rise up and destroy all the Protestants, who, they told them, were worse then Dogs; that they were Devils, and served the Devil; assuring them the killing of such was a meritorious

The people made believe by their Priests that it was a Meritorious act to kill the *English*.

Act, and a rare preservative against the pains of Purgatory, gathered themselves together in great numbers, assembling in several companies through the several parts of the Northern Counties, with staves, sithes and pitch-forks, for at first they had not many better weapons: And so in a most confused manner, they began tumultuously to drive

John Parry of Deurmosh, in the County of Armagh, deposeth, that O Cullan a Priest, told his Auditors at Mass, that the bodies of such as died in this quarrel, should not be cold before their souls should ascend up into Heaven, and that they should be free from the pains of Purgatory.

Margaret Bromly in her Examination deposeth, that some of the Rebels would say, after their cruel butcheries, that they knew if themselves should now die, their souls should go to Heaven, and that they were glad of the revenge they had taken of the *English*.

away at the first onely the Cattel belonging to the *English*, and then to break into their houses, and seiz upon their goods. It is true, there were some murders committed the very first day of their rising, and some houses set on fire, but these as I conceive, were for the most part out of

The *Irish* rise & first drive away all the Cattel belonging to the *English*.

The Irish
Gentlemen
possess them-
selves of the
Goods be-
longing to
the English,
under pre-
sence of se-
curing them.

of private spleen, or where they had particular instructions so to do, as they had from the Lord *Mac-Guire*, to kill Master *Arthur Champion*; a Justice of Peace in the County of *Fermanagh*, who with several other of his neighbours were murdered at his own house upon the 23. of *October* in the morning. But certainly that which they mainly intended at first, and which they most busily employed themselves about, was the driving away the *English-mens* Cattel, and possessing their goods: Wherein the common people were not the onely Actors, but even the chief Gentlemen of the *Irish* in many places, most notoriously appeared, and under plausible pretences of securing their goods from the rapine and spoil of the common sort, got much peaceably into their hands: And so confident were the *English* of their good dealing at first, as many delivered their goods by retail unto them, gave them particular Inventories of all they had, nay digged up such of their best things as they had hidden under ground, to deposite in their custody. Much likewise they got by fair promises and deep engagements to do them no fruther mischief, to suffer them, their Wives and Children quietly to retire and leave the Country: But others, and especially the meaner sort of people fell more rudely to work, at the very first, breaking up of their houses, and using all manner of force and violence, to make themselves Masters of their Goods.

The next Act
was to strip
the English,
man, woman
and child
stark naked,
and to turn
them out of
their own
doors. All
manner of
relief forbid-
den to the
English as
they passed
upon the
high-way
stripped and
deposited of
all they had.

And having thus seized upon all their Goods and Cattel, ransacked their houses, gotten their persons under their power; The next thing they did, was to strip man, woman and child, many of them stark naked, and so to turn them out of their own doors, not permitting them in some places so much as to shelter themselves under Bushes, or in the Woods, and strictly prohibiting all the *Irish* under great penalties to give them entertainment or any kind of relief, as they passed on upon the high-ways. And certainly their design in this, most notoriously appears to have been no other then that all such as they would not lay their hands upon, and cruelly murder in cold blood, might miserably perish of themselves through cold, nakedness and want; and therefore as fast as any of them so stripped got old rags to cover their nakedness, they endeavoured to strip them again and again; as may appear by the Examination of *John Gourly*, who deposeth, that some were stripped twice, some thrice, as fast as they could get any old rags to cover their nakedness, the next *Irish-women* or even the Children that met them would take them off: And he and his Wife further depose, that when their house, together with the Town of *Armagh*, were set on fire by the Rebels, she was stripped of

of her clothes seven several times after she got other clothes; and at length, they left her not so much as her smock or hairlace, and that she got to a place and hid her self in a hutch for three or four days, and after went to find out her Children, two of which had the small Pox visibly upon them. *Furat. Novemb. 8. 1642.*

The manner
of stripping
the English.

How infallibly this course succeeded, and how surely they compassed their devillish ends hereby, is but too well known; The English leaving sufficient monuments in the High-ways as they passed, as well as in the Towns wherein they arrived, of the dismal mortality it bred among them. And for the fuller satisfaction of any one who shall doubt thereof, I have thought fit to insert these two ensuing Examinations.

The miseries
and mortality
it brought
among them.

James Redfern, of the County of *London Derry*, deposeth, That in the Town of *Colerain*, since the Rebellion began, there died of robbed and stripped people that fled thither for succour, many hundreds, besides those of the Town who had anciently dwelt there, and that the mortality there was such, and so great, as many thousands died there in two days, and that the living, though scarce able to do it, laid the Carcases of those dead persons in great ranks, into vast and wide holes, laying them so close and thick, as if they had packed up Herrings together.

Magdalen Redman, late of the *Dowris* in the *Kings County*, Widow, being sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, That she this Deponent and divers other Protestants her Neighbours, and amongst the rest 22 Widows, after they were all robbed were also stript stark naked, and then they covering themselves in a house with straw, the Rebels then and there lighted the straw with fire, and threw amongst them, of purpose to burn them, where they had been burned or smothered, but that some of the Rebels more pitiful then the rest, commanded these cruel Rebels to forbear, so as they escaped: Yet the Rebels kept and drove them naked into the wild Woods, from Tuesday until Saturday, in frost and snow, so as the snow unmelted long lay upon some of their skins, and some of their Children died in their Arms: And when as the Deponent and the rest endeavoured to have gone away for refuge to the *Burre*, the cruel Rebels turned them again, saying, they should go towards *Dublin*; and when they endeavoured to go towards *Dublin*, they hindred them again, and said, they should go to the *Burre*; and so tossed them to and fro: Yet at length, such of those poor stripped people as died not

before they got away out of the hands of the Rebels, escaped to the *Burre*, where they were harboured and relieved by one *William Parsons* Esquire: And yet there died at the *Burre* of those stript persons, about forty men, women and children. And this Deponent and those other stript people that survived, lived miserably at the *Burre* aforesaid, until they with the rest, had quarter to come from thence to *Dublin*.

Jur. 7 March 1642.

Joh. Watson.

Will. Aldrich.

Isabel, the relict of *Christopher Porter*, late of *Dowris* in the *Kings County*, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, in all the particulars above mentioned as *Magdalen Redman* before examined, being her Neighbour.

Some of the most notorious CRUELITIES, and barbarous Murthers committed by the *Irish* Rebels, attested upon Oath as they appear in several Examinations annexed in the Margin.

A particular enumeration of several bloody Massacres and horrid cruelties, exercised upon the *British*, all testified upon Oath, and taken out of several Examinations, which are inserted in the Margin.

WE may in these poor souls, as it were, in large Characters, behold the miseries of all those multitudes of Men, Women and Children, that were in all parts of the Kingdom thus inhumanely stript, and so exposed to the same want, cold and nakedness. The mercies of the wicked are cruel; how bitter was their compassion to all those *British* that thus suffered? How horrid, barbarous, and insupportable was the commiseration they thus expressed towards them? Yet these were as they told them at first, but the beginnings of their sorrows: For when the Northern Rebels began to find their own strength, and that partly by treachery, partly by force they had possessed themselves of all the chief places of strength in *Ulster*, disarmed the *English*, robbed them of their Goods and Cattel, stripped them of their Clothes, and had their persons now under their power, and all this without any considerable resistance made by them; then they could contain themselves no longer but in a most fierce outrageous manner, furiously broke out, acting in all places of that Province, with most abominable cruelty, those horrid massacres and execrable murders, as would make any Christian ear to tingle at the sad commemoration of them: Then they began

to appear in their own colours, and with great delight to satiate their ancient implacable malice, in their long wished and often plotted destruction of all the *British* Inhabitants. Within the County of *Fermanagh* multitudes they fate peaceably in their own houses, others travelling upon the ways, all without any manner of provocation by them given, suddainly surprized and unexpectedly cut off.

Multitudes
killed in cold
blood.

At the Castle of [1] *Lisgool* within that County above 150 men, women and children almost all consumed by fire. At the Castle of [2] *Moneah*, near 100 *British* there slain all together: And the same bloody company of Rebels were no sooner admitted into the Castle of [3] *Tullah*, which was delivered up into the hands of *Rowry Mac-Guire*, upon composition, and faithful promises of fair quarter, but that within the very court they began to strip the people, and most cruelly put them to the sword, murdering them all without mercy. [4] At *Lisfenskeah* they hanged or otherwise killed above 100 persons, most of them of the *Scotch* Nation; for after once they had the *English* in their power, they spared none of them, but used all the *Scots* with as much cruelty as they did the *English*. This County was very well planted by the *British* undertakers, and all of them and their Tenants in a very short space after a most horrible manner quite

[1] Thomas Wenlaw & John Simpson, of the County of *Fermanagh*, Gentlemen, depose and say, That in the Castle of *Lisgool*, there were 152 men, women and children burnt, or smothered, when the said Castle was set on fire; not above two or three escaped, as appears in their Examinations. Jurat. Jan. 12. Anno Dom. 1641.

[2] Thomas Wenlaw further deposeth, that at the Castle of *Moneah*, there were ninety Protestants more slain and murdered: And that from the [3] Castle of *Moneah*, the Rebels marched to the Castle of *Tullah*, where by their own confession, they promised those Protestants that were there fair quarter: But when they had delivered up their Arms and the Castle; those Rebels in the Bawn of the Castle, first stripped them all of their clothes, and then, and there most cruelly murdered them.

Richard Bourk, Batchelour in Divinity, of the County of *Fermanagh* deposeth, That he heard and verily believeth the burning and killing of one hundred at least in the Castle of *Tullah*, and that the same was done after fair quarter promised. Jurat. Jul. 12. 1643.

[4] Rowry Mac-Guire, upon the 24 of Octob. 1641. came with his Company unto *Lisfenskeah*, and desired in a friendly manner to speak with Master Middleton, who had the keeping of the Castle. The first thing he did, as soon as he was entered therein, was to burn the Records of the County, whereof Master Middleton destroyed

leton was the keeper, being Clerk of the Peace, which he enforced him to deliver unto him; as likewise one thousand pounds he had in his hands of Sir William Balfours; which as soon as he had, he compelled the said Middleton to bear Maß, swear never to alter from it, and immediately after caused him, his wife and his children to be hanged up, and hanged and murdered one hundred persons besides, at least in that Town. These particulars and several other set down at large in a Relation sent me in by Sir John Dunbar Knight, one of the Iustices of Peace within the County of Fermynagh.

There were [5] one thousand men, women and Children carried out at several times in several troops, and all unmercifully drowned at the Bridge of Portnedown, which was broken down in the midst, and so driving and

[5] 1000 Men, women and children drowned in one place. This number is deposed in Doctor Maxwells Examination taken the 22 of Aug. 1642.

[6] This number of so many persons drowned within the County of Armagh, is deposed by Thomas Green and Elizabeth his wife, as appears by their Examinations taken Novemb. 10. 1643.

[7] William Clerk of the County of Armagh Tanner, saith, That he with 100 men, women and children, or thereabout, were by the Rebels driven like hogs about six miles, to a River called the Band: in which space the foresaid Christians were most barbarously used, by forcing them to go fast with Swords and Pikes, thrusting them into their sides, and they murdered three by the way, and the rest they drove to the River aforesaid, and there forced them to go upon the bridge, which was cut down, and with their pikes, and swords, and other weapons, thrust them down headlong into the said River and immediately they perished, and those who assayed to swim to the shore, the Rebels stood and shot at. Jurat. Jan. 7. 1641.

Mary the wife of Ralph Corn deposes, That 180 English were taken by the Irish, and driven like Cattel from Castle Cumber to Athy.

destroyed, or utterly banished from their Habitations. In the Counties of Armagh and Tyrone, where the British were much more numerous, and Sir Phelim O Neale and his Brother Turlagh O Neale, the principal actors, the murderers of the British were much more multiplied and committed with greater cruelty, if it were possible, then in any other places.

And as other Relations give it in, [6] four thousand persons were drowned within the several parts of that County.

[7] The Rebels in a most barbarous manner drove on many of those miserable stripped Christians unto the place of their sufferings like Swine, and if any were slack in their pace, they sometimes pricked them forwards with their swords and pikes, often hastening on the rest either by killing or wounding some of their fellows in the way.

[8] Other

[8] Other companies they carried out under pretence of giving them safe conduct out of the Country, and so got them to go cheerfully on by virtue of Sir Phelim O Neals Pass, until they came at some place fit for their execution. [9] And if they drowned them, then they had some prepared to shoot or knock down with Poles any such as could swim, or used any other means to escape out of the water. [10] Amongst many other, a Gentlewoman whose name was Mistris Cambell, being forcibly brought by them to the River, and she finding no means to escape their fury, suddainly clasped her arms about one of the chief rebels that was most forward to thrust her into the water, & as I find it credibly related upon Oath, carried him to the bottom with her, and so they were both drowned together. [11] The Cathedral Church and Town of Armagh were burnt, many Towns laid wast, all the fair Plantations made by the British left deso-

[8] Elizabeth the Wife of Captain Rue Price of the Town and County of Armagh, deposeth, That five of her Children, together with 110 other Protestants out of the Parishes of Armagh, Laugaul, and other places were sent away with passes from Sir Phelim O Neal with promise to be safely conveyed over to their friends in England. That their Conductor was Captain Manus O Cane and his Souldiers, who having brought or rather driven them like Sheep or Beasts to the Bridge of Portnedown, there forced or threw all those poor prisoners into the water, together with the Deponents five children, and then and there drowned most of them. [9] And those who could swim and come to the shore, they either knocked them on the head, and so after drowned them, or else shot them to death in the water. Jurat. Jan. 29. 1641.

Christian Stanhaw, the relict of Hen. Stanhaw, of the Parish of Laugalle, in the County of Armagh deposeth, That upon the drowning of 140 Protestants one time at Portnedown-Bridge, after they had thrown them in, some of them swimming to the shore, the Rebels with their muskets knocked out their brains. Jurat. July 23. 1642.

[10] James Shaw of Merket-hill in the County of Armagh, deposeth the manner of Mistris Cambells pulling the Rebel into the water, and how he was drowned with her. Jurat. Aug. 14. 1642.

[11] Captain Parkin deposeth, That Sir Phelim O Neal flying from Dundalk, went to Armagh, where he began his bloody massacres, causing Manus O Cane to get together all the Protestants which were left thereabouts, to conduct them to Colerain; but before they were scarce a days journey from him, they were all murdered, and so were several others by special direction from Sir Phelim O Neal, and his Brother Turlagh, notwithstanding they were protected by them. All the aged people in Armagh were by the same directions carried away, but murdered also at Charlmount. And presently after, his Brother and he

with their adherents, maliciously set on fire the goodly Cathedral Church of Armagh, and Town of Armagh, and murdered and drowned there 500 persons young and old. At the Parish of Killaman 48 Families were then murdered by directions from Sir Phelim, who had remained protected by him three quarters of a year. Jurat. March 8. 1643.

[12] Jane Grace the wife of Nicholas Grace late of Kilmore, in the County of Armagh, deposeth, That there were two and twenty English Protestants burned in one House, within two miles of Kilmore; and that the Rebels stripped killed, or mured all, or the most of the English of that Parish, which consisted of two hundred Families. That they set many in the Stocks until they confessed their money, and when they could get no more, that then they mured them.

Some horrid
inhuman
cruelties
exercized
upon parti-
cular per-
sons.

But before I leave this Subject, I shall pass a little further, and out of some Examinations (taken here upon Oath, which I have perused) present a brief collection of some other horrid inhuman cruelties, which I find were used in the muring of many poor innocent souls. To many, these bloody villains shewed so much favour as suddainly to dispatch them out of their

[13] Edward Saltinglass of the County of Armagh Gentleman, deposeth, and saith, That George Lawlis a rebel of the said County, resolving to kill John Cowder, told him he would kill him, but bid him first say his Prayers; whereupon the said Cowder kneeling down to pray, the said Lawlis instantly cut off his head as he was upon his knees. Jurat. Jun. 1. 1642.

Elizabeth Price deposeth, That whenas divers of the English were about to be mured, and desired the Rebels on their knees first to admit them to make their prayers to God; the Rebels have often, in her the deponents hearing, in Irish answered and said, bequeath your soul to the Devil; and at other times the Rebels would say, why should you pray, your soul is with the Devil already? and with those words in their mouths would slaughter and put them to death. Jurat. ut supra.

[14] Edward Banks of Cassel, in the County of Tipperary, Clerk, deposeth, That the Rebels there on the first day of January killed fifteen men and women, all English Protestants, at Cassel, and that they entred and took the Town, and having the same, that they took this deponent and other Clergy men, and then and there forthwith caused them to be put in the Dungeon, where they continued twelve weeks in most miserable slavery. Jurat. April 21. 1642.

[15] John Cregg in the County of Armagh, Yeoman, deposeth, That in the Parish of Levilegish, there were divers English-men cruelly mured, some twice,

late; in some Parishes [12] two hundred Families mured and destroyed, the whole County, as it were, a common Butchery, & thorough all parts of it very many thousands perished in short time by Sword, Famine, Fire, Water, and all other manner of cruel deaths, that rage & malice could invent.

by no means allowing them leave, or [13] time to make their prayers; for others, they held a sudden death too easy a punishment: Therefore they imprisoned [14] some in most beastly Dungeons, full of dirt and mire, and their clapping bolts on their heels, suffered them to perish at leisure; others they barbarously [15] mangled, and left languishing upon the Highways, crying out but

for so much mercy as to be delivered out of their pain.

Others they buried [16] alive, a manner of death they used to several British in several places: and [17] at Clewnis within the County of Fermanagh, there were seventeen persons, having been hanged till they were half dead, cast together into a Pit, and being covered over with a little earth, lay pittifully, sending out most lamentable groans for a good time after. [18]

some were deadly wounded and so hanged up on Tentor-hooks. [19] Some had ropes put about their necks, and so drawn thorow the water; some had withes, and so drawn up and down thorow Woods & Bogs; others were

& languished till his own wife, & put him out of his pain, rather then hear him cry still: & tied her handkerchief over his mouth, and therewith stopped his breath, so as he died. Jurat. Jun. 29. 1641.

[17] This particular, concerning the seventeen men buried alive at Clewnis, was testified unto me by Mistress Aldrich, who was then kept prisoner in the Town by the Rebels, and heard their piteiful cries.

[18] William Parkinson, late of Castle Cumber in the County of Kilkenny deposeth, That he saw Lewis O Brenan, with his sword drawn in the said Town, pursue after an English boy of eight or nine years of age, or thereabouts; by name Richard Bernet, into an house, and saw the said Lewis lead the said boy forth of the house, the blond running about his ears, in a Hair rope, and led the boy to his Fathers tentors, and there hanged him with John Banks another little boy. Jurat. ut supra.

[19] Edward Saltingstone, of the County of Armagh Gent. deposeth, That Manus O Cane, Bryan O Kelly, Shan O Neil, Neil Oge O Neil, Gent. did take William Blundel of Grange, in the County of Armagh Yeoman, and put a rope about his neck, and threw him into the black water at Charlmount & drew him up & down the water to make him confess his mony, who thereupon gave him 21 pounds, yet within 3 weeks after hanged

some thrice hanged up, and others wounded and left half dead, crying out lamentably for some to come and end their miseries by killing of them. Jurat. Jan. 7. 1641.

[16] William Parkinson of Castle Cumber in the County of Kilkenny Gent. deposeth, That by the credible report both of English and some Irish, who affirmed they were eye-witnesses of a bloody murder committed near Kilfeal in the Queens County, upon an English-man, his wife, four or five children, and a maid. All which were hanged by the command of Sir Morgan Cavanah, and Robert Harpool, and afterwards put all in one hole, the youngest child being not fully dead, put out the hand and crying Mammy, mammy, when without mercy they buried him alive, Jurat. Feb. 11. 1642.

Elizabeth Price deposeth, That Thomas Mason, an English Protestant of Laugal, being extremely beaten and wounded, was carried away by his wife and some others; for revenge of which, the Rebels most cruelly hacked, slashed and wounded them: and that done, dragged the said Mason unto a hole, and then and there threw earth, stones and rubbish upon him, and with the weight thereof kept him under, so as the said Masons wife told this Deponent, he cryed out & put him out of his pain, rather then hear him cry still: & tied her handkerchief over his mouth, and therewith stopped his breath, so as he died. Jurat. Jun. 29. 1641.

he, his Wife, and seven Children were drowned by the Rebels: And further saith, that Samuel Law of Grenan, in the Parish of Armagh, was by the said Neil Oge O Neil, and others, brought to a Wood, and that then, they there put a With about his neck, and so drew him up and down by the neck, until he was glad to promise them ten pounds. Jurat. ut supra.

1 Margaret Fermeney in the County of Fermanagh, deposeth, That the Rebels bound her and her Husbands hands behind them, to make them confess their mony, and dragged them up and down in a rope, and cut his throat in her own sight with a skein, having first knocked him down and stripped him, and that being an aged woman of 75 years old, as she came up afterwards to Dublin, she was stripped by the Irish seven times in one day, the Rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them cloaths. Jurat.

[20] Edward Wilson of the County of Monaghan deposeth, That among other cruelties used by the Rebels to the English, they hung up some by the arms, and then hacked them with their swords, to see how many blows they could endure before they died. Jurat.

[21] Ann the Wife of Mervin Madesly, late of the City of Kilkenny, Gent. sworn and examined, deposeth, That some of the Rebels in Kilkenny aforesaid, struck and beat a poor English woman until she was forced into a ditch, where she died, those barbarous Rebels having first ript up her child, of about six years of age, and let her guts run about her heels. Jurat.

James Geare of the County of Monaghan deposeth, That the Rebels at Clewnis murdered one James Netterville, Proctor to the Minister there, who, although he was diversly wounded, his belly ript up, and his entrails taken out and laid above a yard from him, yet he bled not at all, until they lifed him up and carried him away; at which this Deponent being an eye-witness, much wondred; and thus barbarously they used him after they had drawn him to go to Mass with them, Jurat. April 6. 1642.

[22] Owen Frankland of the City of Dublin, deposeth, That Michael Garrahy told this Deponent, that there was a Scottish man who being driven by the Rebels out of the Newry, and knockt on the head by the Irish, recovered himself, and came again into the Town naked: Whereupon the Rebels carried him and his wife out of the Town, cut him all to pieces, and with a skein ripped his wives belly, so as a child dropped out of her womb. Jurat. July 23. 1642.

hanged up and taken down and hanged up again several times, and all to make them confess their mony, which as soon as they had told, they then dispatched them out of the way. [20] Others were hanged up by the Arms, and with many flashes and cuts they made the experiment with their Swords how many blows an Englishman would endure before he died. Some had their [21] Bellies ript up, and so left with their guts running about their heels. But this horrid kind of cruelty was principally reserved by these inhuman Monsters for [22] Women, whose sex they neither pitied nor spared, hanging up several Women, many of them great with

child, whose [23] bellies they ripped up as they hung, and so let the little Infants fall out; a course they ordinarily took with such as they found in that sad condition.

[24] And sometimes they gave their Children to Swine; [25] Some the Dogs eat; and some [26] taken alive out of their Mothers bellies, they cast into ditches. And for sucking children, and others of a riper age; some [27] had their brains knockt out; others [28] were trampled under-foot to death.

wounded, though not to death, they buried quick. As also, that he was credibly informed, that the daughter in law of one Foard, in the Parish of Clownish, being delivered of a child in the fields, the Rebels, who had formerly killed her husband and father, killed her and two of her children, and suffered the dogs to eat up and devour her new born Child. Jurat. June 26. 1641.

[26] Katherine, the relict of William Coke, of the County of Armagh Carpenter, deposeth, That the Rebels of the said County robbed, stripped and murdered a great company of Protestants, some by burning, some by the sword, some by hanging, and the rest by starving, and other deaths. And this Deponent, to shun their rage, and save her poor life, hid her self in a ditch of water, and sate there among high rushes so long, as that she was almost frozen and starved to death, and then crawled away secretly. And further saith, that some of the Rebels that escaped and fled from the battle of Lisnagarua, meeting one Mistris Howard and Mistris Frankland, both great with child, and six of their children with them, those Rebels then and there with their pikes killed and murdered them all, and after ripped open the Gentle womens bellies, took out their children, the one of them being quick, and threw them into a ditch in the sight of Jane this Deponents daughter, who escaped because she spake Irish, and said she was an Irish woman. Jurat. Feb. 24. 1643.

[27] James Stevenson, Clerk of the County of Letrim, deposeth, That the Rebels there took Isabel Stevenson, a young child, left at Fostering, with one Hugh Mac Arran and enquiring whose child it was, they told him it was a Schotish-mans child, whereupon they took the child by the heels, and run and beat the brains of it out against a Tree. Jurat. April 20. 1643.

[28] Ann Hill, wife of Arthur Hill, in the County of Caterlagh, deposeth, That

[23] At Ballimcolough within four miles of the City of Rosse in April 1642. John Stone of the Graige his son, his two sons in law, and his two daughters, were hanged, one of his daughters being great with child, her belly was ript up, her child taken forth, and such barbarous beastly actions used to her, as are not fit to be mentioned.

[24] Philip Taylor, late of Portnedown deposeth, That the Rebels killed a Dyers wife of Rosse trever, at the Newry, and ript up her belly, she being great with child of two children, and threw her and her children into a ditch, and that he this Deponent, drove away Swine from eating one of the children. Jurat.

[25] John Montgomery, of the County of Monaghan, sworn and examined saith, That one Brian Mac Erony, ringleader of the Rebels in the County of Fermanagh, killed Ensign Floyd, Robert Worknum, and four of their servants, one of which they having

as she passed through the County of Wicklow, William the Plasterer, with nine or ten Rebels more, pulled off her back a young child of one year and a quarter old, threw it on the ground, trod on it that it died, stripped herself and four small children, who by the cold they thereby got, since died. Jurat.

[28] John Stubs of the County of Longford, Gent. deposeth, That he heard by some of the Sheriffs men, that Henry Mead and his wife, John Bigel, William Stell, and Daniel Stubs the Deponents brother, were put to death by Lisagh Farrols, and Oli. Fitz Gerrals men, who hanged them upon a Windmil, and when they were half dead, they cut them to pieces with their skeins. Jurat. Novemb. 21. 1641.

El. Price deposeth, that a great number of poor Protestants, especially of women and children, they pricked and stabbed with their Skeins, Pitch-forks and Swords, and would slash, mangle and cut them in their heads, breasts, faces, arms and other parts of the body, but not kill them out-right, but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languish, starve, and pine to death; and whereas those so mangled desired them to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it; but sometimes after a day or two, they would dash out their brains with stones, or by some other cruel way, which they accounted done as a favour, of which she hath in many particulars been an eye-witness. Jurat. June 29. 1641.

[29] William Parkinson of Kilkenny Esquire, deposeth, That the wife of John Harvey told him, that she being at Kilkenny, and having there turned to Mass to save her life, was notwithstanding stripped again, together with her children, and one Purcell a Butcher, after he had stripped her daughter, of five years of age, ripped up her body till her intrails fell out, whereof she died that night; whereof she complaining to the Major of Kilkenny, he bid away with her and dispatch her, so as not only the Butcher, but many others did beat and wound her, so as she hardly escaped with her life. Jurat. ut supra.

[30] Elisabeth Champion late wife of Arthur Champion in the County of Fermanagh Esq. deposeth, that when the Castle of Lisgool was set on fire by the Rebels, a Woman leaping out of a window, to save her self from burning, was murdered by the Rebels; and next morning her child was found sucking her breast, and also murdered by them. Jurat. April 6. 1642.

Charity Chappel late wife of Richard Chappel Esquire, of the Town and County of Armagh, deposeth, That as she hath credibly heard the Rebels murdered great numbers of Protestants, and that many children were seen lying murdered in Vaults and Cellars, whither they fled to hide themselves. Jurat. July 2. 1642.

Thomas Fleetwood late Curat of Kilbeggan in the County of West-meath deposeth, That he hath heard from the mouth of the Rebels themselves of great cruelties acted by them: And for one instance, that they stab'd the Mother, one Jane Addis by name, and left her little sucking child, not a quarter old, by the dead corps; and then they put the breast of its dead Mother into its mouth, and bid it suck English-bastard, and so

lars: others [31] starved in Caves, crying out to their Mothers rather to send them out to be killed by the Rebels, then to suffer them to starve there.

Multitudes of [32] men, women, and children were found drowned, cast into ditches, boggs and turf-pits; the ordinary Sepulchres of the Brittish Nation. Thousands died of cold and want in all parts of the Country, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were enforced to stay.

* Multitudes enclosed in houses, which being set on fire, they were there most miserably consumed. [33]

Some dragged out of their beds, and his Brother being murdered by the Rebels in the Parish of Kilmore, that a great number of Protestants were about Candlemas 1641. by the means and instigation of Joan Hemskin formerly a Protestant, but a meer Irish woman, and lately turned to Mafs, and of divers other her assistants, forced and thrust into a thatcht house within the Parish of Kilmore, and then and there, the Protestants being almost naked, covered with rags onely, the same house was by that bloody woman and her barbarous assistants, set on fire in several parts thereof, the poor imprisoned parties (who were by armed parties kept there lockt in) were miserably burned to death, and at length the house fell upon them; and the combustible part of the house being consumed before the bodies of all those miserable wretches were burned to ashes, the bodies of many of them lay there in holes, to the great terror of the beholders that were Protestants, three only escaped out of a hole of the house, and the rest that attempted to escape the flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again, and so burned to death. Jurat. June 16. 1642.

[33] Katherine Madefon of the County of Fermanagh, depofeth, That they drew some lying sick of Fevers, out of their beds and hanged them; and that they drove before them of men, women and children, to the number of sixteen, and drowned them in a Boggy-pit, knocking such on the head with poles as endeavoured to get out.

left in there to perish. Jurat. March 22. 1642.

[31] Mary Barlow depofeth, That her Husband being by the Rebels hanged before her face, she and six children were stripped stark naked, and turned out a begging in frost and snow; by means whereof they were almost starved, having nothing to eat in three weeks, while they lay in a Cave, but two old Calf-skins, which they beat with stones, and so eat them hair and all; her children crying out unto her, rather to go out and be killed by the Rebels then to starve there. Jurat.

[32] John Duffield of the County of Armagh, Gent. depofeth, That the Rebels wounded John Ward and Richard Duffield, so as they thereof died, and that their wives and the said John's six children, being all stript, died of want and cold. And further saith, that many thousands of Protestants, men, women and children, being stripped of their cloaths, died also of cold and want in several parts of the Country. Jurat. Aug. 9. 1642.

* Jane the wife of Gabriel Conftable, late of Drumcad in the County of Armagh Gent. sworn and examined saith, That her husband and his mother about 88 years old, and his Brother being murdered by the Rebels in the Parish of Kilmore, that a great number of Protestants were about Candlemas 1641. by the means and instigation of Joan Hemskin formerly a Protestant, but a meer Irish woman, and lately turned to Mafs, and of divers other her assistants, forced and thrust into a thatcht house within the Parish of Kilmore, and then and there, the Protestants being almost naked, covered with rags onely, the same house was by that bloody woman and her barbarous assistants, set on fire in several parts thereof, the poor imprisoned parties (who were by armed parties kept there lockt in) were miserably burned to death, and at length the house fell upon them; and the combustible part of the house being consumed before the bodies of all those miserable wretches were burned to ashes, the bodies of many of them lay there in holes, to the great terror of the beholders that were Protestants, three only escaped out of a hole of the house, and the rest that attempted to escape the flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again, and so burned to death. Jurat. June 16. 1642.

[34] Thomas Green in the Parish of Dumcres in the County of Armagh Yeoman, and Elizabeth his wife, sworn and examined, saith, That the Deponent Thomas Green hardly escaped away with his life, but that the other Deponent and six children were all left among the Rebels, and so stripped of their cloaths, and hungerstarved, that five of the children dyed, and she this Deponent being put to beg among the merciless Rebels, was at length rescued from them by the Scottish Army: She further saith, that the Rebels did drown in a bog 17 men, women and children at one time within the said parish; and she is verily perswaded that the Rebels at several times and places within the County of Armagh, drowned above 4000 Protestants, enforcing the sons and daughters of those very aged people, who were not able to go themselves, to take them out of their beds and houses and to carry them to drowning, especially in the River of Toll, in the Parish of Loughgall. Jurat. Novemb. 10. 1643.

[35] John Rutledge deposeth, That such were the barbarous and inhumane cruelties of the Rebels, that sometimes they enforced the wife to kill the husband, the son to kill the father, and the daughter to kill the mother, and then they would hang or put to death the last blood-shedder. He further saith, That of his knowledge the Rebels in the Town of Slego, forced one Lewesthe younger, to kill his father, and then hanged the son; and in Mogne, in the County of Mayo, the Rebels forced one Simon Lepers wife to kill her husband, and then caused her son to kill her, and then they hanged the son.

[36] This deposed in Master Goldsmiths Examination, which is set forth at large in the pages following.

[37] Ann Read the reliet of Helchiah Read, of the County of Letrim, deposeth, That she being stripped out of all she had, some of her children dyed of want and famine, and that one of her sons called Stephen Read, being about six years of age, was about the 10 of February, 1641. in the house of James Gray, of the County of Cavan, and going forth to play, there then gathered about him six Irish children of that Town, who suddenly fell upon him, and in such manner, that some with sticks and some with stones put out his eyes and bruised his body extreamly, so that he by means of those children (which were none of them as she is perswaded above eight years of age) not long after died, and had been killed outright in the place, had not an English woman come thither, who took up the dying child from them, saying, she wondred they could find in their hearts so to deal with a poor child; but they answered, they would do as much for her if they were able. Jurat. July 12. 1642.

sick-beds to the place of execution, [34] children enforced to carry their aged parents to the places designed for their slaughter; [35] nay, some children compelled most unnaturally to be the executioners of their own Parents, wives to help to hang their husbands, [36] mothers to cast their own children into the water; and yet after these enforced acts, which no doubt were performed out of hopes and assurance to have their own lives saved, alwayes murdered. And such was the malice and most detestable hatred born to the

English by the Irish, as they taught their [37] children to kill English children, and to kill English children, and

the [38] *Irish* women did naturally exprefs as much cruelty as the chiefest Rebels among them.

If these be not sufficient, let us over-look the particular ends of some particular persons, and we shall yet in them behold more horrid cruelties than these before mentioned. What [39] shall we say to a child boyled to death in a cauldron, a [40] woman hanged on a tree, and in the hair of her head her own daughter hanged up with her; a woman [41] miserably rent and torn to pieces, [42] some ta-

them the greafe of *Mistress* Nicholson, whom they had slain, for her to make candles withall. Jurat. April 26. 1643.

Martha Culm deposeth, That she heard some of the *Irish* themselves detest the cruelty of the women who followed their Camp, and put them on in cruelty, saying, spare neither man, woman, nor child. Jurat.

[39] This particular deposed by *Margaret Parkin*, as also by *Elizabeth Bursel*, who saith, That the child was of twelve years of age, being the child of *Thomas Straton* of Newtown. Jurat. Jan. 19. 1641.

[40] The wife of *Jonathan Linn* and his daughter were seized upon by the Rebels near the Town of *Caterlagh*, carried by them into a little wood, called *Stapletown wood*, and there the mother was hanged, and the daughter hanged in the hair of her mothers head, as is deposed by *James Shaw*, Vicar of old *Laughlin*. Jan. 8. 1643.

[41] *Adam Clover* deposeth, That he saw upon the high way a woman left by the Rebels, stripped to her smock, set upon by three women and some children, being *Irish*, who miserably rent and tore the said poor English woman, and stripped her of her smock in a bitter frost and snow, so that she fell in labour in their hands, and both she and her child died there. Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

[42] This cruelty was used to some English in the Province of *Conaught*, as was testified by the Lords Justices and Council, as doth appear by their Letters.

Tho. Fleetwood Curate of *Kilbeggan*, in the County of *West-meath*, deposeth, that the L. President of *Conaught*, caused an English woman who could speak *Irish*, to ga-

toward Dublin with a letter, but she was taken within five miles of the Town of Athlone, brought back and stoned to death by the women of the Town, dwelling on the hither side of the bridge. Jurat.

[43] James of Hackets Town in the County of Catterlagh deposeth, That an Irish Gentlewoman told him and others, that she turned an English woman away who was her servant, and had a child, and that before the poor woman and child were gone half a mile, divers Irish women slew them with stones. Jurat. April 21. 1643.

[44] John Clerk of Knockback Gent. deposeth, That he heard credibly from Master Lightboun, Minister of the Naas, that the Rebels shot a parish Clerk near Kildare, through both his thighs, and afterward digged a deep hole in the ground, wherein they set him upright on his feet, and filled up the hole in the earth, leaving out onely his head, in which state and posture they left the poor wounded man, till he pined, languished, and so died. Jurat. Octob. 24. 1643.

[45] Katharine, the relict of William Coke, of the County of Armagh, deposeth, That many of her neighbours who had been prisoners among the Rebels, said and affirmed, that divers of the Rebels would confess, brag, and boast, how they took an English Protestant, one Robert Wilkinson at Kilmore, and held his feet in the fire until they burned him to death: And the same Robert Wilkinsons own Son was present, and a prisoner when that cruelty was exercised on his Father. Jurat. February 24. 1643.

[46] At Cashel in Munster, beside many Ministers which they there hanged after a most barbarous manner, they stript one naked and drove him through the Town, pricking him forwards with Darts and Rapiers, and so pursuing him till he fell down dead. Jurat. ut supra.

[47] Christian Stanhaw, the relict of Hen. Stanhaw, late of the County of Armagh Esq^r, deposeth, That a woman that formerly lived near Laugale, absolutely informed this Deponent, that the Rebels enforced a great number of Protestants, men, women and children, into a house which they set on fire purposely to burn them, as they did, and still as any of them offered to come out, to shun the fire, the wicked Rebels with sithes, which they had in their hands, cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire and burned them with the rest. Jurat. July. 23. 1642.

ken by the Rebels, their eyes plucked out, their hands cut off, and so turned out to wander up and down; [43] others stoned to death; [44] a man wounded and set upright in a hole digged in the earth, and so covered up to the very chin, there left in that miserable manner to perish: a [45] mans feet held in the fire till he was burnt to death, his wife hanged at his door: [46] a Minister stripped stark naked, and so driven like a beast thorough the Town of Cashell, the Rebels following and pricking him forward with darts and rapiers: [47] a company of men, women and children put into a house, and as they were burning, some children that made an escape out of the flames were taken by some of the Rebels who stood by, cut them in pieces with sithes, and so cast them into the fire again.

Neither did these horrible tortures which they put these poor innocent Christians unto assuage their fury, their malice towards them did not determine with their breath. But after so many several bloody ways and cruel inventions wherewith they rent their souls from their wretched bodies, even to their [48] dead carcases, in some places, they denied all manner of burial; some [49] they cast into ditches, others [50] they left to be devoured by dogs & swine, others by Fowls and ravenous birds; nay [51] several which had been formerly buried, they digged up and left them to putrify above ground.

[48] Adam Clover of the County of Cavan deposeth, That he observed thirty persons to be most barbarously murdered, and about 150 more cruelly wounded, so that traces of blood issuing from them, lay upon the high way for twelve miles together, and many very young children were left and perished by the way, to the number of sixty, or thereabouts; because the cruelties of the Rebels were such, that their parents and friends could not carry them further. And further saith, that some of the Rebels vowed, that if any digged graves wherein to bury the dead children, they should be buried therein themselves: so the poor people left most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous beasts and fowls. Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

[49] Edward Saltiniale deposeth, That the Rebels killed William Loverden when he was naked, his wife and children looking on, and cutting off his head held it up to his wife and children, and his sorrowful wife taking his corps and burying of it in a Garden, Patrick O Dally a Rebel, took it up and threw it into a ditch. Jurat. ut supra.

[50] Thomas Green and Elizabeth his wife depose, That the Rebels at several times murdered, killed and destroyed the most part of the Protestants in the Parish of Dumcres, being about 300 and indeed most of the Protestants in all the County thereabouts did they kill and destroy by drowning, hanging, burning, the sword, starving, and other deaths, exposing their slaughtered bodies to be devoured by dogs, swine, and other ravenous creatures: And his Deponent Elizabeth, saw the dogs feed upon those dead carcases. Jurat. Nov. 10. 1643.

[51] Richard Bourk Batchelour of Divinity deposeth, That he was informed, that Master Lodge, Arch-deacon of Killalow, being buried about six years since, and divers other Ministers bones were digged out of their graves as patrons of heresy, by direction of the titular Bishop of Killalow, and Robert Jones a Minister was not admitted Christian burial, by direction of some Popish priest. Jurat. July 12. 1643.

David Buck deposeth, That in the parish of Munrath, in the Queens County, the Rebels digged up a number of English mens graves, and left the corps above ground to be abused by dogs, hogs, or any other ravenous creatures.

[52] Arthur Agmoughty deposeth, That during the siege of Castle Forbez, the Rebels killed poor children that went out to eat weeds or grass; and that a poor woman whose husband was taken by the Rebels, went to them with two children at her feet & one at her breast, hoping to beg her husbands life, but they slew her

in

and her sucking child, broke the neck of another of her children, and the third hardly escaped. Jurat. Sept. 23. 1643.

[53] Master Creighton deposeth in his Examination, That sometimes the chief of the Irish would make heavy moan for the evils they perceived were coming on their Country and Kindred, and said, they saw utter destruction at hand for that they had covered so great a bitterness so long in their hearts against the English, and now so suddenly broken out against them, that had brought them up, kept them in their houses like children, and had made no difference between them, their English friends & kindred, by all which the English had so well deserved of them, and they had required them so evil, that the English would never trust them hereafter; and now it remaineth, that either they must destroy the English, or the English them. Jurat. ut supra.

horror of their bloody executions, actuated with all kind of circumstances that might aggravate the height of their cruelty towards them. Alas, who can comprehend the fears, terrors, anguish, bitterness and perplexity of their souls, the despairing passions and consternations of their mind! What strange amazed thoughts must it needs raise in their sad hearts to find themselves so suddainly surprized without remedy, and inextricably wrapt up in all kind of outward miseries which could possibly by man be inflicted upon any humane Creatures! What sighs, groans, trembling, astonishment! What schriches, crys and bitter lamentation of wife and children, friends and servants, howling and weeping about them, all finding themselves without any manner of hope or deliverance from their present misery and pain! How inexorable were their barbarous

[54] Francis Barbour of Dublin Gent. deposeth, That at the beginning of the Rebellion, he heard several of the Rebels publicly say, That now the day was their own, and that they had been slaves to the English a long time, but that now they would be revenged to the full, and would not leave before Christmas-day, an English Protestant rogue living, with other like bitter words. Jurat. Jan. 5. 1643.

[54] Jane the reliet of Gabriel Constable deposeth, That the Rebels having half killed one Ellen Millington, and then put her into a dry hole made for a Well, and made her fast in with stones, whereof she languished and died,

in death among an innocent, unprovoking, unresisting people, that had always lived peaceably with them, [53] administering all manner of helps and comforts to those who were in distress, that made no difference betwixt them and those of their own Nation, but ever cherished them as friends, and loving neighbours, without giving any cause of unkindness or distast unto them. It is not possible to re-collect or express the wickedness of their mischievous inventions, or

tormentors that compassed them on every side without all bowels of compassion, any sense of their sufferings, or the least commiseration and pity, the common comforters of men in misery.

It was no small addition to their sorrows, to hear [54] the base reviling speeches used against their country &

country-men, someloudly threatening [55] all should be cut off and utterly destroyed that had one drop of English bloud in them; the Irish women crying out to spare neither man, woman nor child that was English; that the English was meat for dogs, and their children bastards.

How grievous and insupportable must it needs be to a true christian soul, to hear a base [56] villain boast, that his hands were so weary with killing and knocking down Protestants into a bogg, that he could not lift his arms up to his head; or others to say, [57] that they had killed so many English men, that the grease or fat which remained

own, and that they had been slaves to the English a long time, but that now they would be revenged to the full, and would not leave before Christmas-day, an English Protestant rogue living, with other like bitter words. Jurat. Jan. 5. 1643.

[55] Elizabeth the wife of Thomas Green deposeth, That she heard the Rebels say, the English were meat for dogs, that there should not be one drop of English bloud left within the Kingdom, and that they would destroy all, the very English children, whom they called bastards. Jurat. Novemb. 10. 1643.

Richard Cleybrook deposeth, That he heard Luke Toole say, That they would not leave an English man or English woman in the Kingdom, that they would not leave an English Beast alive, or any of the breed of them. Jurat.

Samuel Man, of the County of Fermanagh Gent. deposeth, That he heard some of the Irish say, That there should not be one English man, woman or child left in the Kingdom. Jurat.

Elizabeth Dickingson deposeth, That she heard some of the company of Roury Mac Guire say, That the Irish had command to leave never a drop of English bloud in Ireland. Jurat. Novemb. 17. 1642.

Katherine Madefon of the County of Fermanagh deposeth, That she hath often heard the Rebels say, that they would drive all the English and Scottish out of the Kingdom, and that both man, woman and child should be cut off and destroyed. Jurat. Novemb. 17. 1642.

[56] Elenor Fullerton the relict of Will. Fullerton, late Parson of Lougall deposeth, That in Lent 1641. a young roguing Cow-boy, gave out and affirmed in this Deponents hearing, That his hands were so weary in killing and knocking down Protestants into a bog-pit, that he could hardly lift his arms to his head. Jurat. Septemb. 16. 1642.

Owen Frankland deposeth, That he heard Hugh O Can, late servant to Mistris Stanhaw calling to his fellows, in a boasting manner, asking them what they had been doing at home all the day, that he had been abroad and had killed sixteen of the rogues, and shewed them some money. Jurat. ut supra.

[57] Elizabeth Champion, late wife of Arthur Champion in the County of Fermanagh Esquire, saith, That she heard the Rebels say, That they had killed so many English men, that the grease or fat which remained upon their swords and skeins, might well serve to make an Irish candle. Jurat. April 14. 1642.

[58] John Birn late of Dongannon in the County of Tyron deposeth, That he heard some of the native Irish that were somewhat more merciful then the rest, complain, that two young Cow-boys within the Parish of Tullah, had at several times muredred and drowned 36 women and children. Jurat. Jan. 12. 1643.

[59] James Shaw a Minister deposeth, That after the cessation made with the Irish, divers of them confessed, the Priests had given them the Sacrament, upon condition they should not spare man, woman or child that were Protestants, and that he heard divers of them say in a bragging manner, that it did them much good to wash their hands in the bloud of the Protestants which they had slain. Jurat. Jan. 7. 1643.

in his Examination: He there saith, That the account of the persons killed by the Rebels from the time of the beginning of the Rebellion, Octob. 23. 1641. unto the month of April following, was as the Priests weekly gave it in, in their several Parishes, one hundred and five thousand. Jurat. April 22. 1641.

[60] Elizabeth Champin deposeth, That when the Rebels had set the Castle of Lisgool on fire upon the Protestants there enclosed, and saw the said house so burning, they said among themselves rejoycingly, Oh how sweetly do they fry. Jurat. ut supra.

[61] William Lucas of the City of Kilkenny deposeth, That although he lived in the Town till about five or six weeks past; in which time he is assured divers murders and cruel acts were committed, yet he durst not go abroad to see any of them: But he doth confidently believe, that the Rebels having brought seven Protestants heads, whereof one was the head of Master Bingham a Minister, they did then and there as triumphs of their victory, set them up on the Market-cross on a Market-day, and that the Rebels slasht, stab'd and mangled those heads, put a gag or carret in the said Master Bingham's mouth, slit up his cheeks to his ears, laying a leaf of a Bible before him, and bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough, and after they had so solaced themselves, threw those heads in a hole in Saint James Green. Jurat. Aug. 16. 1643.

on their swords or skeins, might have made an Irish candle; or to consider, that two [58] young Cow-boys should have it in their power to murder 36 Protestants. Whosoever shall seriously weigh these particulars, will not much wonder that so great numbers of British and Protestants, should be destroyed in so short a time after the first breaking out of the Rebellion, as Master Cunningham [59] deposeth

When the Castle of Lisgool [60] was set on fire by the Rebels, and so many British as are before mentioned consumed in the flames, those mischievous villains that had done that wicked fact, cryed out with much joy, how sweetly do they fry! How did the Inhabitants [61] of Kilkenny, (a City planted with old English, where civility and good manners seemed to flourish) solace and please themselves in abusing most unchristianly the heads of a Minister and six other Protestants, brought in a kind of triumph into that Town: Certainly it is not to be imagined, much

less expressed, with what scorn and derision they acted these great cruelties upon all *Irish* which they had gotten into their power; with what joy and exultation their eyes did behold the sad spectacle of their miseries, what [62] greedy delight and pleasure they took in their bloody executions; what [63] malice and hatred they expressed towards them, many with the last stroke of death giving them in their last agony [64] that

[62] Julian Johnson, the relict of John Johnson of the County of Gallaway deposeth, That after the slaughter of some English, she heard one O Moley a Friar, say in a triumphing manner, It was a brave sport, to see the young men (meaning some of the English then slain) defending themselves on every side, and their two eyes burning in their heads. And further, that she heard some of the cruel Souldiers then and there brag and boast of the brave sport they had, by putting fire to the straw which a stripped English woman had tyed about her, saying, how bravely the fire then made the English jade to dance. Jurat. Feb. 8. 1643.

Joan Constable, the relict of Gabriel Constable deposeth, That the outcries, lamentations, and speeches of the poor Protestants burned in a thatcht house in the Parish of Kilmore, in the County of Armagh, were exceeding loud and pitiful, yet did nothing prevail to mollify the hardened hearts of their murderers, but they most boldly made brags thereof, and took pride and glory in imitating those cries, and in telling the Deponent and others, how the children gaped when the fire began to burn them, and threatened and told her this Deponent, that before it were long, she and the rest of the Protestants should suffer the like deaths. And further saith, That the Rebels within the County of Armagh did act and commit divers other bloody, barbarous cruelties (betwixt the time of the beginning of the Rebellion and her escape from imprisonment out of the said County) by burning, drowning, hanging, the sword, starving, and other fearful deaths: That they did drown at one time betwixt Tinon & Kinnard, sixty British women and children, their respective husbands and fathers, all their male friends that were men being murdered before: And that they did in the same water at another time, drown one Mistris Maxwel, the wife of Master James Maxwel, when she was in labour, and so forward therein, as some of those bloody actors told and brag'd to her, this Deponent, That the very child's arm appeared and waved in the water, the child being half born when the mother was drowned. Jurat. ut supra.

[63] Henry Brinkhurst of the County of Mayo deposeth, That after the Massacre of Shreul, one of the Rebels that had acted his part there, came into a house with his hands and cloths all bloody, saying, It was English blood; That he hoped to have more of it, and that his skein had pincked the clean white skins of many at Shreul, even to the hilt thereof, and that amongst others, it had been in the body of a fair complexioned man, whose name was Jones. At which time of his discourse, the wife of the said Jones with four of her small children, sate by and durst not cry out, but striving to suppress her extream grief, fell into a swoon, and was conveyed out of the room, for fear he should have done the like by her and her poor children. Henry Brinkhurst. Jurat. Mar. 11. 1643.

[64] This particular deposited in the Examination of Dr. Maxwell and Mrs. Price.

[65] Margaret Stokes the wife of Hugh Stokes duly sworn and examined, deposeth inter alia, That when the Rebels, or any of them had killed an English man in the Country, many others of them would come one after another, and every of them in most cruel manner stab, wound and cut him, and almost mangle him, and to shew their further malice, would not suffer or permit any to bury them, but would have them to lie naked, for the dogs, beasts, and fowls of the air to devour them. And further saith, when they had so killed the English, they would reckon up and account the number of them, and in rejoycing and boasting manner would say, That they had made the Devil beholding to them, in sending so many souls to him to hell. Jurat. coram Sir Gerard Lowther.

Edward Dean of Ocrum in the County of Wicklow, Tanner, deposeth, That the Irish Rebels made Proclamation, that all English men and women that did not depart the County within 24 hours, should be hanged, drawn and quartered, and that the Irish houses that kept any of the English children should be burned. And further saith, That the said Rebels burned two Protestant Bibles, and then said, That it was hell fire that burnt. Jurat. Jan. 7. 1641.

[66] John Kerdif, Clerk of the County of Tyron deposeth inter alia, That Frier Malon of Skerries, did take the poor mens Bibles which he found in the boat, and cut them in pieces and cast them into the fire, with these words, That he would deal in like manner with all Protestant and Puritan Bibles. Jurat. Feb. 28. 1641.

Henry Fisher of Powerscourt in the County of Wicklow deposeth, That the Rebels entered the Parish Church at Powerscourt, and burnt up the Pews, Pulpit, Chests and Bibles belonging to the said Church, with extream violence and triumph, and expressing of hatred to Religion. Jurat. Jan. 25. 1641.

Adam Clover of Slonofy in the County of Cavan, duly sworn, deposeth, That James O'Rely, Hugh Brady, and other Rebels, did often take into their hands the Protestant Bibles, and wetting them in the dirty water, did five or six several times dash the same on the face of this Deponent and other Protestants, saying, Come, I know you love a good lesson, here is an excellent one for you, come to morrow, and you shall have as good a Sermon as this; and used other scornful and disgraceful words unto them: And further saith, That dragging divers Protestants by the hair of the head, and in other cruel manner into the Church, there stripped, robbed, whipped, and most cruelly used them, saying, If you come to morrow you shall hear the like Sermon. Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

Edward Slack of Gusteen in the County of Fermanagh Clerk, deposeth, That the Rebels there took his Bible, opened it, and laying the open side in a puddle of water, leaped and trampled upon it saying, A plague on it, this Bible hath bred all the quarrel, and that they

fearful valediction, in Irish Anim a duel, Thy soul to the Devil.

But it is no wonder that they carried themselves after this barbarous manner to these poor innocent Christians, when they spared not most fearfully to belch out their rage against their maker. What open [65] hellish blasphemies were uttered by these wicked miscreants? [66] with what indignation and reproach, did

he hoped within few weeks all the Bibles in Ireland should be used as that was, or worse, and that none should be left in the Kingdom. Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

they tear, trample under their feet the sacred Word of God? How despicable did they upbraid the profession of the truth to those blessed souls, whom neither by threats nor terrors, pains nor torments, they could draw to forsake their Religion.

But I shall not here touch any further upon those who dyed thus gloriously; this will be a worthy work for some more able pen to undertake, and indeed fit for a Martyrology. If we shall take a survey of the primitive times, and look into the sufferings of the first Christians that suffered under the tyranny and cruel persecutions of those Heathenish Emperours, we shall not certainly find any one Kingdom, though of a far larger continent, where more Christians suffered, or more unparallel'd cruelties were acted in many years upon them, then were in Ireland, within the space of the first two months

after the breaking out of this Rebellion. And howsoever

[67] some by outward afflictions and tortures were drawn to profess the change of their Religion, and had presently their reward; for many of those they suddenly dispatched with great scorn, saying, it was fit to send them out of the world in that good mood; [68] yet I dare say we shall find many

[67] Alexander Creighton of Glaslough in the County of Monaghan Gent. deposes, That he heard it credibly reported among the Rebels aforesaid, at Glaslough, that Hugh Mac O Degan, a Priest, had done a most meritorious act in drawing betwixt forty & fifty English and Stotish in the Parish of Ganalley, in the County of Fermanagh, to reconciliation with the Church of Rome, and after giving them the Sacrament demanded of them whether Christs body was really in the Sacrament or no; and they said, Yea: And that he demanded of them further, whether they held the Pope to be supream head of the Church? They likewise answered, He was: And that thereupon he presently told them, they were in a good Faith; and for fear they should

fall from it, and turne Hereticks, he and the rest that were with them, cut all their throats. Jurat. March 1. 1641.

[68] John Glas of Montwath in the Queens County, sworn and examined saith, That Florence Fitz Patrick, of the said County, Esquire, having received Master John Nicholson, and his wife Ann Nicholson, under his protection did endeavour all he could to turn them to Mass or the present Rebellion; but they both professed, that rather then they would either forsake their Religion, or fight against their Countrymen they would die the death; the husband professing how much they abhorred it, and his wife even shewing greater resolution: They would have had her burnt her Bible; but her answer was, before she would either burn her Bible, or turn against her Countrymen, she would die upon the point of the sword; which was made good by them; for on a Sabbath-day in the morning before Mass, they were cruelly butchered and murdered, by the com-

thus

mand of the said Florence Fitz Patrick: The instrument that acted the villany, was one John Harding, who since hath been beyond all expression, tormented in his conscience, and with continued apparitions of them (as he conceived) in such lively manner as he murdered them; so as he is even now consumed away with the horror of it, as is most frequently reported among the Rebels, Jurat. April 8. 1642.

thus cruelly put to death; equal to some of those ancient Worthies for their patience, constancy, courage, magnanimity in their sufferings, not accepting deliverance, but triumphing and insulting with their last breath, over the insolency,

rage and malice of their most inhumane and cruel persecutors.

We shall find in the *Roman Story*, during the several cruel contestations betwixt *Marinus* and *Scilla*, when their factious followers filled the whole City of *Rome* with streams of blood, strange and most incomparable passages of friendships; one exposing himself to all manner of dangers for the preservation of his friend of a contrary faction; servants willingly sacrificing themselves to save the lives of their beloved Masters. But here on the contrary, what open violation of all bands of humanity and friendship; no contracts, no promises observed; quarter given in the most solemn manner with the greatest oaths and severest execrations, under-hand and seal suddenly broken. The *Irish* Landlords making a prey of their *English* Tenants; the *Irish* Servants betraying their *English* Masters; and every one esteeming any act wherein they could declare their hatred and malice most against any of the *British* Nation, as gallant and truly meritorious. It is not to be denied, but that the first and most bloody executions were made in the Province of *Ulster*, and there they continued longest to execute their rage and cruelty; yet must it also be acknowledged, that all the other three Provinces did concur with them, as it were, with one common consent to destroy and pluck up by the roots all the *British* planted throughout the Kingdom. And for this purpose they went on not only murthering, stripping and driving out all of them, Men, Women and Children: but they laid waste their Habitations, burnt their Evidences, defaced in many places all the Monuments of civility and devotion; the Courts and places of the *English* Government; nay, as some of themselves express it, they resolved not to leave them either Name or Posterity in *Ireland*.

How they proceeded on in this work, or how far they cooperated each with other, will be a task of a large size, and more proper for another place in this Story; I shall here conclude this Discourse concerning the cruelties exercised upon the *British* and

and Protestants with these following Examinations. They are eight in number, two Witnesses, as it were, taken out of each Province, to declare their bloody proceedings: I shall begin with *Munster*, from whence we have yet very few Examinations brought up, the chiefest of them having been most unhappily carried another way. Therefore I have thought fit, for the more full expressing their Miseries, to insert their general Remonstrance, made upon the conclusion of the late Cessation, in the year 1643. The two next ensuing are concerning the Province of *Conaght*, then those of the Province of *Uister*; and lastly, two Examinations taken of some acts of cruelty committed within the Province of *Lemster*. I have made choyce, for the most part of them, of such as have been put in by persons, of good quality, of known integrity and credit. They are all upon Oath, as all the other Examinations concerning cruelties before mentioned likewise are. I shall leave the several particulars to the consideration of such as shall please to take the pains to read them over. And I may well say of them, in respect of the former cruelties inserted, as was said to the Prophet *Ezekiel* in another case; *Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations than these.* Ezek. 8. 13.

There follow
several Exa-
minations
taken upon
oath of seve-
ral horrid
murders and
most abo-
minable cru-
elties acted
within the
four Pro-
vinces.

A general REMONSTRANCE of the distressed PROTESTANTS in the Province of MUNSTER.

S Eting forth, from the gasping condition of their most sad and distressed souls, That whereas the Province of Munster, through the vast expence of English treasure and bloud, was reduced from the height of Barbarism, to such a degree of Civility, that the power and dignity of the English Crown was much advanced and extended, by the surest and noblest bonds of a flourishing people; those of Religion, Civility and Profit. Of Religion, witnessed by the enlarged Congregations both in Cathedral and Parochial Churches. Civility, by the many costly Plantations, fair and strong Buildings; plentiful Markets, and bountiful Hospitality. And Profit, by the free Trade and Commerce throughout Christendom. Lands fully improved, abounding with herds and flocks of all sorts of the best English Cattel,

Cattel; which enabled us to advance great sums to His Majesties Customs, contribute large Subsidies, and to supply the West of England with such a considerable proportion of Wooll and Cattel, that a great part of the Trade of those parts subsisted thereby. And this begun at the great charge of the English Undertakers, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory; since when few parts of Christendom from their beginning (in so short space) had such a Rise and growth; which was not alone to our selves, but the very Natives must confess, that their Estate were hugely augmented by our improvements. And therefore let it not be wondred at, that when we consider from what we are fallen, to what we are fallen; if the pain of loss strive to equal that of sense; and if the depth of our Miseries have not sunk our souls to stupidity, we may compare our Woes to the saddest parallel of any Story. Our Temples demolished, or worse, prophaned by sacrifices to Idols; our Houses and Castles become ruinous heaps; our Nation extirpated, destroyed: No quality, age, sex priviledged from Massacres and lingring death; by being robbed and stript naked, through cold or famine, Passages of a notable piece of Clemency and Mercy. The famished Infants of murdered Parents swarm in our Streets, and for want of Bread perish before our faces; and many of our, yet, miserable remnant, which lived plentifully and relieved others, are forced to ask relief, and those they ask of, constrained by want to refuse them; So as undoubtedly our present Miseries are not far distant of those of Samaria's Siege; and all those cast upon us by this unparalleled Rebellion, at a time when we were most confident and secure, more and greater Immunities and Bounties being granted by his Majesty that now is, then ever was by his Royal Progenitors; for what cause, offence, or least seeming occasion of provocation, our Souls never imagine (Sin excepted) save that we were Protestants, and his Majesties loyal Subjects: and could not endure their poisonous breaths to belch out such prophaneness, as in a deep measure pierced and wounded the sacred fame of our King; and to colour this, we
must

must go under the notorious names of first Puritans, and later of Roundheads; for particular instances, time would fail, and length weary the Reader. But we are altogether confident to make it manifest, by abundant instances, That the Depopulations in this Province of Munster do well and near equal those of the whole Kingdom. The particulars whereof, as of the multitude of inhuman cruelties were collected and reduced to several instances, with ample proof, by the many Months endeavours of a Reverend Divine, one Arch-Deacon BISSE, thereunto authorized by virtue of a Commission under the Broad Seal of this Kingdom; who was most barbarously murdered by the Irish, expressing that to be the cause. And because it may be thought requisite to touch something of the Demeanours of the Irish since the Cessation, as well as before; many English have been murdered as they Travelled, with other expressions of that utter detestations of the English, that if any remain (which few do) nor surely will do, that can but breath elsewhere; then must they be in a degree worse then any known slavery: And likewise for other parts of the Cessation, they have been totally broken, and our Quarters, being of large extent, universally taken from us, even to the walls of our Garrisons; wherein we have often called to the chief of them for justice; which being denied (or which is worse) delayed, want of means to justify our selves, leaves us without remedy. All which we pour forth our griefs and Supplications, above, to God alone; and here on earth, to our Dread Sovereign.

The Province
of Munster.

The EXAMINATION of *Ann* the late Wife of
John Sherring, late of the Territory of *Ormond*, near
the *Silverworks* in the County of *Tipperary*, aged about
25 years, Sworn and Examined, Deposeth and Saith,

That about *Candelmas* was two years, the said *John Sherring* her
then husband, going from his Farm, which he held from Master
John Kenedy Esquire, near to the *Silverworks*, one *Hugh Kenedy*, one
of the brothers of the said *John Kenedy*, a cruel Rebel, together with a
great multitude of *Irish* rebellious Souldiers, then and there fiercely
assaulted and set upon her said husband, and upon one *William Brock*,
William Laughlin, *Thomas Collop*, and eight more *English* Protestant
men, and about ten women, and upon some Children in their company,
and then and there stript them of their cloths, and then with stones, pole-
axes, skeins, swords, pikes, darts, and other weapons, most barbar-
ously massacred and murdered her said husband, and all those Protestant
men, women and children: In the time of which Massacre, a most loud
and fearful noise and storm of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, Hail-
stones and Rain began: The time being on a Sabbath-day, about an
hour before night, the former part of that day being all very fair,
but that Thunder, Lightning and Tempest hapning suddenly after the
Massacre was begun, much affrighted and terrified this Deponent and many
others, insomuch as those murderers themselves confessed it to be a sign of
Gods anger and threatening of them for such their then cruelty; yet it deter-
red them not, but they persisted in their bloody act, until they had mur-
dered those said *English* Protestants and had hackt, hewed, flashed, stab'd
and so massacred them, that many of them were cut all to pieces; and her
husband for his part, had thirty grievous wounds then and there given
him (*viz.*) some through or near his heart, ten mortal wounds in his
head, three in his belly, and in either arm four, and the rest in his thighs,
legs, back and neck: and that murder done, those barbarous Rebels tied
wyths about their necks, and drew them out of the refining Mill (where
indeed they slew them) and threw them or most of them into a deep hole
(formerly made) one upon another, so that none of those 23 men,
women nor children did escape death. Howbeit one *Tho. Ladell* a *Scottish*-
man, and one *George Kely*, who then and there endured and had many
grievous wounds and being left on the ground for dead, crawled up (after
the Rebels were gone away) and with much difficulty, escaped with their
lives: And further saith, that such was Gods judgment upon the said *Hugh*

Kenedy

Kenedy for that bloody fact, that he presently fell into a most desperate madness and distraction, and could not rest day nor night; yet coveting to do more mischief upon the *English*, but being prevented and denied to do it, he about a week after drowned himself in the next River to the *Silverworks*, but his barbarous and wicked Souldiers went on in their wickedness, and afterwards bragged how they had killed a Minister and his Wife and four Children near the City of *Limrick*; and this Deponent is too well assured, that those and other *Irish* Rebels in that part of the Country, exercised and committed great number of bloody Murders, Robberies and Outrages upon the persons and goods of the Protestants, so as very few escaped with their lives, and none at all saved their goods. And further saith, that all the popish Gentry in the Country thereabouts, especially all those of the *Septs* and Names of the *O Brians*, & the *Coghluins*, and the *Kenedies*, were all actors in the present Rebellion against his Majesty; and either acted, assisted, incited, or consented to all the murders, robberies, cruelties and rebellious acts aforesaid. And she further saith, that by means of the said Rebellion, her said husband and she were at *Werinwood* about *Candlemas* 1641. robbed and deprived of their Cattel, Houshold-stuff, Corn, Mault, Provision, ready mony, debts, the benefit of their Lease, and other their Goods and Chattels of the value, and to their loss of one hundred and threescore pounds at the least, and that the said *John Kenedy* Esquire, their Land-lord, was the man that so deprived and robbed them thereof, and the other Rebels stript her stark naked, *Jurat.* Feb. 10. 1643.

Henry Jones.

Henry Brereton.

Ann Sherring.

The EXAMINATION of *John Goldsmith* Parson
of *Brashoul*, in the County of *Mayo*, Sworn and
Examined, saith,

The Province
of Conaght.

THat the Lord of *Mayo* being to convoy all those of *Castle Burre* to *Galway*, viz. Sir *Henry Bingham*, with all his company, and the Bishop of *Killalla* with all his company, with many of the neighbouring *English*, being about threescore in number, whereof there were some fifteen Ministers, covenanted with one *Edmund Bourk* for the safe convoy of the same parties upon a certain day; and the said Lord of *Mayo* appointed them all to meet him at *Belgharah*, having first separated this Deponent from them to attend his Lady in the work of the Ministry. At which day, the

titulary Archbishop and the Lord of *Mayo* meeting with their whole number, went on their journey to *Shreut*; at which place the Lord of *Mayo* left them in the custody of the said last named *Edmund Bourk*: But, as one Master *Bringhurst* told the Deponent, the Lord of *Mayo* was not gone far from them, but the said *Edmund Bourk* drew out his sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to Massacre those Protestants, and accordingly some were shot to death, some stab'd with skeins, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned, and the women that were stripped naked, lying upon their Husbands to save them, were run through with pikes, and very few of those *English* then and there escaped alive, but the most part were murdred in the place: Amongst the rest, the Bishop of *Killalla* escaped with his life; but was then and there wounded in his head; and one Master *Crowla* Minister, was then and there so beaten with cudgels on his feet, that he died shortly after. And this Deponent further saith, that in the Town of *Sligo*, forty persons of *English* and *Scotish* were by the Rebels stript and lockt up in a cellar, and about midnight, a Butcher which was sent unto them on purpose, with his Axe knocked them all on the heads, and so then and there murdered them: which Butcher coming afterwards to *Castle Curre*, did there confess his bloody fact.

In *Tirawly* within the County of about thirty or forty *English* (formerly turned Papists) had their choice given them, whether they would die by the sword, or drown themselves: They making choice of drowning, were brought to the Sea-side by the Rebels, who had their skeins drawn in their hands, and forced them to wade into the Sea: The Mothers, with their Children in their arms (crying for drink) having waded to the chin, at length cast or dived themselves and children into the Sea, yielding themselves to the Mastry of the waves, and so perished.

The torments the Rebels would use to the Protestants to make them confess their monys, were these, viz. some they would take and writh withs about their heads, until the blood sprang out of the Crown of their heads: others they would hang until they were half dead, then they would let them down, and do the same so often over, until they confessed their monies.

And this Deponent further saith, that a young youth of about fifteen years of age, the Son of Master *Montgomery* the Minister meeting with a bloody Rebel, who had been his School-master: This Rebel drew his skein, and began furiously to slash and cut him therewith; the Boy cried unto him, Good Master do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will; nevertheless the merciless and cruel Rebel then and there most barbarously murdred him.

A *Scotchman* travelling in the high-way, with his wife and children near were beset by the Rebels who wounded and stab'd him.

him with their pikes, put him alive upon a Car, brought him to a ditch, and buried him alive, as the poor wife afterwards (with great grief) told him this Deponent.

The Vicar of *Urras* turned Papist, and became Drummer to Captain *Bourk*, and was after murdered for his pains by the Rebels.

Another *Scotchman* near *Ballehen* was hanged by the Rebels.

Furat. 30 Decembris 1643.

Henry Jones.

Henry Brereton.

Job. Goldsmith.

The EXAMINATION of *Jane* the wife of *Thomas Stewart*, late of the Town and County of *Sligo*, Merchant, Sworn and Examined before his Majesty's Commissioners, in that behalf Authorized: Deposeth and Saith,

The Province
of Conaught.

That after the present Rebellion was begun, viz. about the beginning of *December* 1641. her said Husband living as a Merchant in the Town aforesaid, with her this Deponent, as for twenty six years he had done, in very good estate and condition; and having continually furnished the Inhabitants of that part thereof with all sorts of Wares and Merchandize; and by that course having acquired and gained to himself an estate of good value: He the said *Thomas Stewart*, and she this Deponent, then possessing that Estate, were then at *Sligo* aforesaid, by *Andrew Crean* of *Sligo* Esquire, then high Sheriff of that County, *Neil O Hart* of *Donnelly* in the said County Gentleman, *Roger O Conner* of *Skarden* in the same County Gent. *Donnel O Conner* of Gent. brother in law to *Teige O Conner*, *Sligo* *Richard O Crean* of *Tirrerragh* Gent. *John O Crean* Esq; and a Justice of Peace, Son to the said *Andrew Crean*, *Anthony Scream* of near *Ballyshanny* Gent. forcibly deprived, robbed and despoiled of their Household-goods, Wares, Merchandize, Specialties, Cattel, Horses, Plate, Money, and other goods and Chattles, of the value of one thousand two hundred pounds *sterl.* or therabouts: Which robbery and outrage was committed in or about the beginning of *December* aforesaid, at the very time of the Rebels surprizing, robbing and pillaging of all the *English* and *Scots* of the Town of *Sligo*. In the doing whereof, not onely the persons, Rebels before named, but also *Teige O Conner* *Sligo* now of the Castle of *Sligo*, general of the Rebels in those parts; *James French* of *Sligo* aforesaid Esq; a Justice of the Peace (a notorious and cruel Rebel) *Brian O Conner* of *Drumcleer* Gent. Captain *Charles O Conner*

ner a Frier, and Captain *Hugh O Conner*, all three Captains, and brothers to the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, Captain *Patrick Plunket* near Killoony in the same County (a Justice of the Peace) Captain *Phelim O Conner*, Captain *Teige O Conner* of the *Glan*, Captain *Con O Conner*, of the same, and divers others whose names she cannot for the present remember, were most forward and cruel actors; and those Rebels having altogether deprived and stripped all the *British* of all their Estates they had, she this Deponent, and her Husband, and many other *British* were left in that Town, and amongst the rest, there were left there, which she can well remember, viz. *William Braxton*, the Deponent and her Husband and six Children, *James Scot* and his Son of the age of four or five years, *Sampson Port* and his wife, *Mary Port* and her Father (of the age of seventy years, or thereabouts) *John Little*, *Arthur Martin*, *William Dowlittle* and his wife and children, *William Carter*, and *John Lewes*, and *Elizabeth* his wife, *Robert Scyens*, *Elizabeth Harlow*, and one woman then was great with child, and within a month of her time, *Isabel Beard*, who was great with child, and very near her time, and others whom she cannot name; which *British* people (although they were promised fair quarter, and taken into the protection of the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, who promised them a collection) yet they were daily threatened to be mured, if they would not turn Papists in one month, then the next after; which for saving of their lives, they were enforced to do: Notwithstanding which, about the sixth of *January* then next following, the said *O Conner Sligo*, (having before called a meeting of his followers and kindred, in the Counties of *Sligo* & *Letrim*, and considered with them, and with a Covent of Friars of the Abby of *Sligo* for three days together, where they sat in Council) all the men, women and children of the *British* that then could be found within the same Town (saving this Deponent, who was so sick that she could not stir) were summoned to go into the Goal, and as many as could be met withall, were carried and put into the Goal of *Sligo*, where about twelve a clock in the night they were stripped stark naked, and after most of them were most cruelly and barbarously mured with swords, axes and skeins, and particularly, by two Butchers, named *James Buts* and *Robert Buts* of *Sligo*, who mured many of them, wherein also were Actors *Charles O Conner* the Frier, and *Hugh O Conner* aforementioned, brother to the said *Teige*, *O Conner Sligo*, and *Teige O Sheile*, *Kedagh O Hart* Labourer, *Richard Walsh* and *Thomas Walsh*, the one the Taylor, the other a Butcher, and divers others whom she cannot name: And saith, that above thirty of the *British*, which were so put into the Goal, were then and there mured; besides, *Robert Gumble*, then Provost of the said Town of *Sligo*, *Edward Newsham*, and *Edward Mercer* who were wounded and left for dead amongst the rest,

rest, and *Jo. Stewart* this Deponents Son, which four being the next day found alive, yet all besmeared with blood, were spared to live. All which particulars, the Deponent was credibly told by those that so escaped, and by her *Irish* servants and others of the Town; and saith, that some of the women so murdered being big with child (by their wounds received) the very arms and legs of the children in their wombs appeared, and were thrust out; and one woman, *viz. Isabel Beard*, being in the house of the Friers, and hearing the lamentable cry that was made, ran into the street, and was pursued by one of the Friers men unto the River, where she was barbarously murdered, and found the next day, with the childs feet appearing, and thrust out of her wounds in her sides. And further saith, that on the said sixt day of *January* there were murdered in the streets of the Town of *Sligo*, these *British* Protestants following, *viz. William Sheiles* and *John Sheiles* his Son, *William Mapwell* and *Robert Akin*. And the Deponent further saith (as she was credibly informed by the persons before named) that the inhuman Rebels after their murders committed in the said Goal, laid and placed some of the dead bodies of the naked murdered men upon the naked bodies of the women in a most immodest posture, not fit for chaste ears to hear: In which posture they continued to be seen the next morning by those *Irish* of the Town that came into the said Goal, who were delighted and rejoyced in those bloody murders and uncivil actions: And that they of the *Irish* that came to bury them, stood up to the mid-leg in the blood and brains of those that were so murdered, who were carried out and cast into a pit digged for that purpose, in the Garden of *Master Riccross*, Minister of *Sligo*. And she further saith, that whereas the River of *Sligo* was before very plentiful of Fish, it did not for a long time after those murders, afford any Fish at all: And this Deponent saw the Friers in their white habits, in great companies in procession, going to sanctify the water, casting thereinto holy water: She saith also, that the Prior of the Covent of *Sligo*, after the murder of the said woman in the River, fell frantick, and ran so about the Streets, and continued in that frenzy for three or four weeks; and saith, that of her six children, three were starved and died, after her release of imprisonment, which had been for eighteen months amongst the Rebels.

Jurat 23. Aprilis 1644.

Henry Jones.

Henry Brereton.

Signum predict. VVV. Jane Stewart alias Menize.

Captain

The Province
of Ulster.

Captain ANTHONY STRATFORD of *Charlmount* in the County of *Armagh* Esquire, aged threescore years or thereabouts; sworn and examined before his Majesties Commissioners, by virtue of a Commission in that behalf, directed under the great Seal of *Ireland*: Deposeth and saith,

THAT these Protestant Ministers following, about the beginning of the present Rebellion, were murdered in the Counties of *Tyron*, *Armagh*, viz. Master *John Matthew*, Master *Blyth*, Master *Hastings*, Master *Smith*, Master *Durragh*, Master *Birge*, and eight more, whose names this Deponent hath forgotten, by the Rebels, none of which would the Rebels permit to be buried; the names of such as murdered, this Examinant knoweth not; his cause of knowledge of the said murders is, that some of his, this Deponents servants, who were among the Rebels, did give him the relation, and he verily believeth them; and besides, this Deponent heard the same confessed and averred by many of the Rebels themselves, and by some of those Protestants that had escaped; and that he, this Deponent, was a prisoner amongst the Rebels at *Castle Caulfield* near the place of those murders where he continued fourteen months. And further saith, That in *Dungannon*, in the County of *Tyron*, or near thereunto, the Rebels murdered three hundred and sixteen Protestants, and between *Charlmount* and *Dungannon*, above four hundred, that were murdered and drowned at, and in the River by *Benburb*, the Black-water, between the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyron*, two hundred and six Protestants, and *Patrick Mac Crew* of *Dungannon* aforesaid, murdered thirty one in one morning, and two young Rebels, viz. *John Begbrian*, *Hary*, murdered in the said County of *Tyron*, one hundred and forty poor women and children that could make no resistance, and that the wife of *Brian Kelly* of *Loghall* in the County of *Armagh* (one of the Rebels Captains) did with her own hands murder forty five. And this Deponent further saith, That one *Thomas King*, sometimes Serjeant to the late Lord *Caulfields* Company (which this Deponent commanded) he being enforced to serve under the Rebels, and was one of their Provost Marshals, gave the Deponent a List of every householders name so murdered, and the number of the persons so murdered; which List this Deponent durst not keep: At *Portadown* there were drowned at several times about three hundred and eight, who were sent away by about forty, or such like numbers at once, with convoys, and there drowned: There was a *Lough* near *Loghall* aforesaid, where were drowned above

two hundred, of which this Deponent was informed by several persons, and particularly by the wife of Doctor *Hodges*, and two of her sons, who were present and designed for the like end, but by Gods mercy that gave them favour in the eyes of some of the Rebels, they escaped; and the said *Mistress Hodges*, and her sons gave the Deponent a List of the names of many of those that were so drowned, which the Deponent durst not keep; and saith that the said Doctor *Hodges* was employed by Sir *Phelim O Neil* to make Powder, but he failing of his undertaking, was first half hanged, then cut down, and kept prisoner three months, and then murdred with forty four more within a quarter of a mile of *Charlmount* aforesaid, (they being by *Tirlogh Oge O Neil*, brother to Sir *Phelim*, sent to *Dungannon* prisoners, and in the way murdred) This Deponent was shewed the pit where they were all cast in. At a Mill-pond in the Parish of *Killamen*, in the County of *Tyron*, there were drowned in one day three hundred; and in the same Parish, there were murdred of *English* and *Scotish* one thousand and two hundred, as this Deponent was informed by Master *Birge*, the late Minister of the said Parish, who certified the same under his hand, which note the Deponent durst not keep: The said Master *Birge* was murdred three months after; all which murders were in the first breaking out of the Rebellion; but the particular times this Deponent cannot remember, neither the persons by whom they were committed: This Deponent was credibly informed by the said Serjeant and others of this Deponents servants (who kept company with the Rebels and saw the same) that many young Children were cut into quarters and gobbets by the Rebels, and that eighteen *Scotish* Infants were hanged on a Clothiers tenterhook, and that they murdred a young fat *Scotish* man, and made Candles of his greafe; they took another *Scotish* man and ripped up his belly, that they might come to his small guts, the one end whereof they tyed to a tree, and made him go round until he had drawn them all out of his body, they then saying, That they would try whether a dogs or a *Scotch* mans guts were the longer.

Deposed March 9. 1643. before us,

Henry Jones.

Henry Brereton.

Anthony Stratford.

The Province
of Ulster.

The EXAMINATION of *Robert Maxwell* Clerk,
Arch-deacon of *Down*, sworn and examined,
deposeth and saith *inter alia*,

THat by command from Sir *Phelim O Neil*, the Rebels dragged the Deponents brother, Lieutenant *James Maxwell* out of his bed in the rage and height of a burning Feaver; and lest any of his acquaintance or friends should bury him, they carried him two miles from any Church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he neither knew what he did or said; and thus Sir *Phelim* paid him two hundred and sixty pound which he owed him: And his wife *Griffel Maxwell* being in Child-birth, the Child half born and half unborn, they stript stark naked, drove her about an arrows flight to the Blackwater, and drowned her: The like they did to another *English* woman in the same Parish, in the beginning of the Rebellion, which was little inferiour, if not more unnatural and barbarous then the roasting of Master *Watson* alive, after they had cut a Collop out of either Buttock. And farther saith, that a *Scottish* woman was found in the *Glinwood*, lying dead, her belly ripped up, and a living Child crawling in her womb, cut out of the Cawl; and that Master *Starkey*, School Master at *Armagh*, he a Gentleman of good Parentage and Parts, being upwards of an hundred years of age, they stript naked, caused two of his Daughters, Virgins, being likewise naked: to support him under each arm, he being not able to go of himself: And in that posture carried them all three a quarter of a mile, to a turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the lusts of their eyes, and the cruelty of their hearts with the self-same objects at the same time. At the siege of *Angher*, they would not kill any *English* Beast, and then eat it, but they cut Collops out of them being alive, letting them there rore till they had no more flesh upon their backs, so that sometimes a Beast would live two or three days together in that torment; the like they did at *Armagh*, when they murdred *Hugh Echlin* Esquire, they hanged and murdred all his *Irish* servants which had any way proved faithful or useful to him during this Rebellion: And as touching exemplary constancy in Religion, this Deponent saith, That *Henry Conwell* Esquire, a gallant and well bred Gentleman, was murdred because he would not consent to marry a beastly Trull, *Mary Ny Neil*, a near Kinswoman of Sir *Phelim's*: He was profered his life, without the *Blouse*, if he would have gone to Mass, but he chose rather to die then to do either. There was made the like proffer of life for going to Mass to *Robert Ecklin*, a Child of eleven or twelve years of age, but he also refused it, saying, He saw nothing in their Religion for which he would change his own. And this Deponent further saith, That very many of the *British*

Pro-

Protestants the Rebels buried alive, and took great pleasure to hear them speak unto them as they digged down old ditches upon them; except those whom they thus buried, they buried none of the Protestants, neither would permit any who survived to perform that duty for them: And further saith, That the Rebels would send their Children abroad in great Troops, especially near unto *Kinnard*, armed with long wattles and whips, who would therewith beat dead mens bodies about their privy members, until they beat, or rather thrashed them off, and then would return in great joy to their Parents, who received them for such service as it were in triumph. And further saith, that if any women were found dead lying with their faces downwards, they would turn them upon their backs, and in great flocks resort unto them, censuring all parts of their bodies, but especially such as are not fit to be named, which afterwards they abused so many ways, and so filthily, as chaste ears would not endure the very naming thereof.

Many of the Protestants the Rebels would not kill out-right, but being half-dead would so leave them, entreating for no better favour at their hands two or three days after, but to kill them out-right, which sometimes were granted, sometimes denied.

A young youth having his back-bone broken, was found in a field having like a Beast eaten all the grass round about him; the Deponent could not learn that they killed him out, but that they removed him to a place of better Pasture, so that in those most bloudy and execrable wretches, that of the holy Ghost is clearly verified, *The very mercy of the wicked is cruelty*: And further saith, That the Rebels themselves told him, this Deponent, that they mured 954 in one morning, in the County of *Antrim*; and that besides them, they supposed that they killed above 1100 or 1200 more in that County: They told him likewise, that Colonel *Bryan O Neil* killed about one thousand in the County of *Down*, besides three hundred killed near *Killeleigh*, and many hundreds both before and after in both those Counties.

At Sir *Phelims* return from *Lisnegavy* some of the Souldiers forced about 24 *British* into a house, where they burned them alive, whose terrible out-crys they desired very much to imitate and expresse unto others: And saith, That he heard Sir *Phelim* likewise report, that he killed 600 *English* at *Garvagh* in the County of *Derry*; and that he had left neither man, woman nor Child alive in the Barony of *Munterlong* in the County of *Tyron*, and betwixt *Armagh* and the *Newry*, in the several Plantations and Lands of Sir *Archibald Archeson*, *John Hamilton*, Esquire, the Lord *Causfield*, and the Lord *Mount Norrice*: and saith also, that there were above two thousand of the *British* mured for the

most part in their own houses, whereof he was informed by a *Scotchman*, who was in those parts with Sir *Phelim*, and saw their houses filled with their dead bodies. In the *Glinwood* towards *Dromore*, there were slaughtered, as the Rebels told the Deponent, upwards of twelve thousand in all, who were all killed in their flight to the County of *Down*: The number of the people drowned at the Bridge of *Portadown*, are diversly reported according as men staid amongst the Rebels, this Deponent who staid as long as any, and had better intelligence then most of the *English* amongst them, and had best reason to know the truth, saith, There were (by their own report) 190 drowned with Master *Fullerton*: At another time they threw 140 over the said Bridge; at another time 36 or 37 and so continued drowning more or fewer, for seven or eight weeks, so as the fewest which can be supposed there to have perished, must needs be above 1000 besides as many more drowned betwixt that Bridge and the great *Lough of Montjoy*, besides those who perished by the sword, fire and famine, in *Conbrassil*, and the *English* plantations adjacent: Which in regard there escaped not 300 out of all those quarters, must needs amount to many thousands.

Near unto the Deponents house thirty six persons were carried to the *Cure-bridge* at one time, and drowned. At another time six and fifty, Men, Women and Children; all of them being taken out of the Deponents House; and at several other times several other numbers; Besides those that were drowned in the Black-water at *Kinnard*. In which Town and the Parish of *Timon* (whereof the Deponent was Rector) there was drowned, slaughtered and died of Famine, and for want of Clothes, about six hundred. The Deponent might add to these many thousands more; but the Diary which he this Deponent wrote amongst the Rebels, being burned, with his House, Books and all his Papers; he referreth himself to the number in gross, which the Rebels themselves have upon inquiry, found out and acknowledged; which notwithstanding will come short of all that have been Murdred in *Ireland*; there being above one hundred and fifty four thousand now wanting of the *British* within the very precinct of *Ulster*.

And this Deponent further saith, That it was common Table-talk amongst the Rebels, that the Ghost of Master *William Fullerton*, *Timothy Jephes*, and the most of those who were thrown over *Portadown-bridge*, were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the River, sometimes singing of Psalms, sometimes brandishing of naked Swords, sometimes screeching in a most hideous and fearful manner. The Deponent did not believe the same at first, neither doth he yet know whether to believe it or no; but saith that divers of the Rebels assured him that they themselves did dwell

The numbers
of *British*
destroyed
within the
Province of
Ulster.

near to the same River, and being daily affrighted with those apparitions, but especially with their horrible screeching, were in conclusion enforced to remove further into the Country : Their own Priests and Friars could not deny the truth thereof. But as it was by the Deponent Objected unto them ; said it was but a cunning slight of the Devil to hinder this great work of propagating the Catholick Faith, and killing of Hereticks ; or that it was wrought by Witchcraft. The Deponent himself lived within thirteen miles of the Bridge, and never heard any man so much as doubt of the truth thereof. Howsoever, he obligeth no mans faith, in regard he saw it not with his own eyes ; otherwise he had as much certainty as morally could be required of such a matter.

And this Deponent further saith ; That the degenerate *Pale-English*, were most cruel amongst the *British* Protestants, being beaten from their own Lands ; and were never satisfied with their blood, until they had in a manner seen the last drop thereof ; affrighting Sir *Phelim O'Neil* every day with their numbers, and perswading him, That whilst they (meaning the Protestants) lived, there would neither be room for them, nor safety for him. It was easy to spur on the cowardly and bloody Rebel ; yet no sooner were the Protestants cut off, but contrary to their expectation, the meer *Irish* took present possession, of their Lands and Houses ; whereat the *Pale-English* much grumbled ; and said, Sir *Phelim* had not kept promise with them ; howsoever, they were forced to swallow those and many other injuries.

And further saith, That he knew one Boy, that dwelt near unto himself, and not exceeding fourteen years of age, who killed at *Kinnard*, in one night, fifteen able strong men with his Skein, they being disarmed, and most of their feet in the Stocks.

Another not above twelve years of age, killed two women at the Siege of *Augher*.

Another that was a woman and Tenant to this Deponent, killed seven men and women, of her fellow *English* Tenants, in one morning. And it was very usual in all parts, for the Rebels children to murder the Protestants children ; and sometimes with Lath-swords heavy, and well sharpened, they would venture upon people of riper years, cruelties not to be believed, if there were not so many eye-witnesses of them.

Deposed 22. of August, 1642.

Henry Brereton.

William Aldrich.

The Province
of Lemsler.

The EXAMINATION of Dame *Ann Butler* wife
unto Sir *Thomas Butler* of *Rathealin* in the County
of *Catherlagh* Knight, duly sworn; *Deposeth*,

THat after *Walter Bagnal* of *Dunlickny*, in the County of *Catherlagh*, Esquire, *Walter Butler* with a great number of men, had in a violent manner entred this Deponents House, they not able to resist, they set strict guard over this Deponent, her Husband and family, and brought them from their settled dwelling unto *Loghlin-bridge*, where they kept her self, and Husband and Children in restraint for two weeks, and from thence conveyed them with strict guard to the Town of *Kilkenny*; and there were brought before the Lord *Mount Garrot*; where *Walter Bagnal* and *James Butler*, brother to the Lord *Mount Garrot* did use all means possible to move the said Lord, to put this Deponent her Husband and family to death and torture; alledging that they were rank Puritan Protestants, and desperately provoking, used these words, saying, There's but one way, we or they, meaning Papists or Protestants, must perish. To which malicious provocation the said Lord did not hearken. And this Deponent further deposeth, That *Walter Bagnal*, with his rebellious company, apprehended *Richard Lake* an English Protestant, and his servant, with his wife and four children, and one *Richard Taylor* of *Loghlin-bridge*, his wife and children, *Samuel Hatter* of the same, his wife and children, an English-woman, called *Jone*, and her daughter, and was credibly informed by *Dorothy Renals*, who had several times been an eye-witness of these lamentable spectacles, that she had seen to the number of five and thirty English going to execution, and that she had seen them when they were executed, their bodies exposed to devouring Ravens, and not afforded so much as burial. Another English-woman who was newly delivered of two children in one Birth, they violently compelled her in her great pain and sickness, to rise from her child-bed, and took the infant that was left alive, and dashed his brains against the stones, and after threw him into the River of the *Barrow*: and having a piece of Salmon to dinner, Master *Brian Cavanaghs* wife being with her, she the said Mistress *Cavanagh* refused to eat any part of the Salmon, and being demanded the reason, she said she would never eat any Fish that came out of the *Barrow*, because she had seen several infants bodies, and other Carcases of the English taken up in the Wear.

And this Deponent saith, that Sir *Edward Butler* did credibly inform her, that *James Butler* of *Fimhinch*, had hanged and put to death all the

• English

English that were at *Goran* and *Wells*, and all thereabouts. And further Depōseth, That she being in *Kilkenny* a prisoner in restraint, and having intelligence that some of her own Cattel were brought thither by *Walter Bagnal*, she petitioned (being in great extremity) to the Lord of *Mount Garrot*, to procure her some of her own Cattel for her relief; whereupon he recommended her suit to the Major and Corporation of *Kilkenny*; who concluded, Because she and her family were Protestants, and would not turn to *Mafs*, they should have no relief. *Jane Jones*, servant to the Deponent, did see the *English* formerly specified, going to their execution; and as she conceived, they were about the number of five and thirty; and was told by *Elizabeth Homes* that there were fourty gone to execution.

Jurat. 7 Septem. 1642.

Ann Butler.

John Watson.

The EXAMINATION of *Joseph Wheeler* of *Stancarty* in the County of *Kilkenny* Esq; *Elizabeth*, the relict of Lieutenant *William Gilbert*, of Captain *Ridgways* Company; *Rebecca Hill*, the relict of *Thomas Hill*, late Lieutenant to the said Captain *Ridgway*; *Thomas Lewis*, late of *Kilkenny* Gent. *Jonas Wheeler* of *Stancarty* aforesaid, Gent. and *Patrick Maxwell* of the *Graige* in the same County Gent. sworn and examined, Depose and Say,

The Province
of *Lemster*.

THAT about *Easter* 1642. one *Richard Philips* and five others, who were old Garrison Souldiers, then under the command of Captain *Farrel*, a Captain on his Majesties party, were, by the command of the Lord *Mount Garrot*, at the end of a house in *Kilkenny*, hanged to death by that cruel and bloody Rebel and Provost Marshal *Thomas Cantwell* of *Cantwell-court*, Esquire, or some of his servants or Souldiers in his presence, who would hardly suffer them to say their prayers after they were taken out of the prison before they were put to death, those poor men dying very patiently and resolutely, in the maintenance of the Protestant Faith; but one of them because he was an *Irish* man, was offered his life if he would turn Papist, but he chose rather death, which he quickly had with the other five: And further saith, That a little before *Christmas* 1641. Master *William Hill*, of the Abby of _____ in the *Queens County*, Esquire,

Esquire, and the said Lieutenant *Thomas Hill* his son, coming to *Kilkenny*, to fetch home *Mary Hill*, the wife of him the said *William Hill*, and the said *Rebecca*; one of these Deponents were then and there sent for by the Lord *Mount Garrot*, and by him committed prisoners to the Goal of *Kilkenny*; where they continued in a dark dungeon bolted for two months, but were offered freedom if they would joyn with the Rebels, and become Papists; but they refused, and after the said Lord *Mount Garrot* was gone into *Munster* with his Forces, (which was an example to all the rest of the wicked *Irish* there to rise unto Rebellion) one *Florence Fitz Patrick* of *Castletown* in the *Queens County* Esquire, a Captain of Rebels, and his Souldiers came to *Kilkenny*, and then and there (without resistance of any) broke open the Goal there, and forcibly took and carried away with them into *Ossory* aforesaid, the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, where they kept them in miserable durance for some time, and then hanged them both; and a poor young Girl being sent from the Town of *Ballinekill* to see what was become of them, the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* meeting her, caused her to be half hanged, then letten down, and after to be buried quick: And by report of one *Jone Grace* (that said she was an eye-witness) the Rebels threw the dead body of the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, into a Saw-pit, leaving them so far unburied, that their heads and legs lay bare, until she came and covered them with earth, about a week after: And further saith, that they have credibly heard and believed, That the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* having enticed a rich Merchant of *Montrath* to his the said *Fitz Patrick*'s house, to bring thither his goods which he promised should be safely protected, and safely redelivered; he, the said *Florence Fitz Patrick*, possessing those goods, afterwards caused the said Merchant and his wife to be hanged; and they have credibly heard, that the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* also hanged Lieutenant *Keies* and his son, one *Hughes* a School-master, and divers other Protestants: And these Deponents further say, that Master *Edmond Butler*, eldest son to the Lord *Mount Garrot*, *Edward Butler* his second son, Captain *Garret Blanckfield*, and divers other rebellious Commanders and souldiers, to the number of 6 or 700 horse and foot a little before *Michaelmas* 1642. marched from *Balliraggis* near to the Iron Forge of *Ballinekill*, and there met with Lieutenant *Gilbert* aforesaid Ensign, *William Alfry* the younger, Master *Thomas Bingham* the Minister, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bently*, and about sixty more of the *English Souldiers*, both the same parties joyned in Battel; but the *English Souldiers*, though fighting valiantly, and killing many Rebels (and one *Walter Butler*, a Captain among the rest) were at the last so overcome with multitudes of the Rebels, that then and there they, the said Lieutenant *Gilbert*,
William

William Alfry, Thomas Bingham, Robert Graves, Richard Bently, and two other *English* Souldiers were absolutely slain, and the heads of all those seven carried to *Kilkenny* by those Rebels (their pipes for joy playing before them on hors-back) and on a market day which hapned to be on the next day following, those heads as triumphs of their Victories, there brought out and set upon the Market-cross, where the Rebels, but especially the women there, and amongst the rest *Elice Butler*, a reputed mother of several bastards, yet the daughter of the said *Mount Garrot*, stab'd, cut and slasht those heads, the said *Elice Butler* drawing her skein, slasht at the face of the said *William Alfry*, and hit him on the nose, and those that could but get a blow or stab at those heads, seemed to account themselves happy: And the Rebels then and there put a gag in the mouth of the said *Thomas Bingham* the Minister, and laying the leaf of a Bible before him, bad him preach, saying, His mouth was open and wide enough, and one of those leud virago's that had no weapons, struck one of the heads so with her hand, that the same night her hand grew black and blew, rankled, and she was extreemly lame with it a quarter of a year after, and that lameness and the swelling thereof growing to an issue, is like to continue till she die: and another of those women that with great rejoycing went and saw those heads, did quickly after the sight thereof fall into such an astonishment and distraction, that for three or four days after she could not sleep nor rest, but cryed out that still she saw those heads before her eyes, which heads being said by the Rebels to be the heads of Hereticks, were not afforded Christian Burial, but buried without the City in a cross high-way all together in a hole; the buriers chopping and cutting the heads with their Spades as they threw mold upon them. And to make the manner of their burial, and the heads themselves yet more contemptible; the Rebels (over the hole where the heads were laid) set up a long stick, whereto they fixed papers, that all may take notice of the place: And after and from that time, the rebellious roguish Boys, took up, and frequently used an Oath, *By the Cross of the seven devils heads buried on Saint James Green*. And further say, that upon the testimony of a roguish Boy, that an *English* man that was a Maulster to one *Richard Shaw* of *Kilkenny*, had said, *He would believe the Devil as soon as the Pope*; the cruel Rebel, the Provost Marshal *Cantwell* afore-named, suddenly took and hanged him up in an Apple-tree till he died: And further saith, That one *Uncil Grace*, and divers other Rebels in *Kilkenny*, broke open the doors of the Cathedral Church there, and robbed the same Church of the Chalice, Surplices, Ornaments, Books, Records and Writings there being; and made Gunpowder in *Saint Patrick's* Church, and digged the Tombes and graves in the Churches

in *Kilkenny*, under colour of getting up molds whereon to make Gunpowder: And these Deponents have credibly heard, and verily believe, that the Rebels at *Goran* took 25 Protestants, men, women and children, and pretending and promising to them a Convoy to *Dungannon*, hanged them dead in the way, in a Wood near *Newross*, and that the Rebels half hanged five more Protestants at *Balliragget*, by the command of the said Captain *Edward Butler*, and the said *Thomas Camwell* the Marshal, and letting them down again before they were dead suffered them somewhat to recover, and then buried them quick: And these Deponents *Thomas Lewis*, *Patrick Maxwell* further say, That as they have been credibly told by *Walter Archer* of *Kilkenny* a Rebel, that a poor English mans wife that went out to gather sticks, at a place about two miles from *Kilkenny*, was taken and hanged up by the Rebels: And the Deponents *Elizabeth Gilbert*, *Patrick Maxwell* further say, That a poor woman and two children, she being the wife of one *Harvy* of *Ballinekil*, coming to *Kilkenny* about Candlemas was twelve month, were then and there assaulted and set upon by the rebellious Inhabitants of that City, and hunted, baited, and drawn with dogs, cruelly stab'd with skeins, and so miserably used, that one of the children died presently (having the guts pluckt out) and the Deponent *Patrick Maxwell* further saith, That there were taken out of *Graige* by the Rebels, and hanged to death, one *John Stone* and his wife and his son, *William Valentine*, *Robert Pym* and his wife, one of their children of a year and a half old, and *Thomas White* a Merchant and his wife, who being great with child, had her belly ripped up after she was hanged, so as the child fell out of the cawl alive; *Walter Sherly*, *Mistris Joan Salter* an ancient Widow, one *John* a servant to *Stone* aforementioned; the Rebels that hanged them were *Garret Forestal* of *Knockive*, and *Gibbon Forrestal* of *Tinyhinch*, and the eldest son of *Richard Barron*, alias *Fitz Geraldin* of *Knockeen* aforesaid, and divers others whom she cannot name, all of the County of *Caterlagh*; which said *Robert Pym* after he was hanged up twice, proved alive in his grave, and struck his hand upon his breast saying, *Christ receive my soul*, and with those words in his mouth was then and there buried quick; and one of those poor Protestants at *Goran*, by name *Fristoram Robinson*, the Rebels hanged him twice, thrust him through with darts, but he still continuing alive, and speaking, they buried him quick: And this Deponent *Jonas Wheeler* farther saith, That one old English Protestant, who was a Shepherd, and his wife going from *Kilkenny* towards *Ballidownel*, the Rebels hanged up the poor old man, and going a little off, his wife perceiving breath in her Husband, said unto him, *Oh joy you are alive yet*; which when some of the Rebels over-hearing, hanged him out-right, and dragged him

him up and down until his bowels fell out, then his wife desiring them to hang her too, but they refused. And saith, That this Deponent asking the Rebels of *Kilkenny*, how they durst do what they did, considering the King was against them? They answered, That if the King would not hold with them, they could have fourty thousand to come to assist them out of *France* and *Spain*, and bring ammunition and arms enough, and all things necessary, and fight against the King and the *English*. And the Deponent *Elizabeth Gilbert* further saith, That she heard one *James Eustace*, a servant to the Rebel Colonel *Cullen*, say publickly in Master *Joseph Wheelers* house in *Kilkenny*, Let the King take heed, for if they (meaning the *Irish*) had not their own desires they would bring in a forreign King; and one *Tristram Dyer* a Protestant was (as his wife told this Deponent) murdered in a Wood with his own Hatchet, and covered with Leaves and Moss.

EXAMINATIONS touching the Apparitions at
Portnedown-bridge, within the Province
of U L S T E R.

James Shaw of *Market-hill* in the County of *Armagh*, Inn-keeper, deposeth, That many of the *Irish* Rebels, in the time of this Deponents restraint, and staying among them, told him very often, and it was a common report that all those that lived about the bridge of *Portnedown*, were so affrighted with the cries and noise made there of some spirits or visions for revenge, as that they durst not stay but fled away thence; so as they protested, affrighted to *Market-hill*, saying, They durst not stay nor return thither for fear of those cries and spirits, but took grounds and made creats in or near the Parish of *Mullabrack*. *Fur at.*
Aug. 14. 1642.

Joan the relict of *Gabriel Constable*, late of *Drumard* in the County of *Armagh*, Gent. deposeth and saith, That she hath often heard the Rebels, *Owen O Farren*, *Patrick O Conellan*, and divers others of the Rebels at *Drumard*, earnestly say, protest and tell one another, that the blood of some of those that were knockt in the heads, and afterwards drowned at *Portnedown-bridge*, still remained on the Bridge, and would not be washed away; and that often there appeared visions or apparitions, sometimes of men, sometimes of women, breast-high above the water,

at or near *Portnedown*, which did most extreemly and fearfully screech and cry out for vengeance against the *Irish* that had mured their bodies there; and that their crys and screeches did so terrify the *Irish* thereabouts, that none durst stay nor live longer there, but fled and removed further into the Country, and this was a common report amongst the Rebels there, and that it passed for a truth amongst them, for any thing she could ever observe to the contrary. *Jurat. Jan. 1. 1643.*

Katherine the relict of *William Coke*, late of the County of *Armagh*; Carpenter, sworn and examined, saith, That about the 20 of *December*, 1641. a great number of Rebels in that County, did most barbarously drown at that time one hundred and eighty Protestants, men, women and children in the River at the Bridge of *Portnedown*; and that about nine days afterwards, she saw a vision or spirit in the shape of a man, as she apprehended, that appeared in that River, in the place of the drowning, bolt upright breast-high, with hands lifted up, and stood in that posture there, until the latter end of Lent next following; about which time some of the *English Army* marching in those parts, whereof her Husband was one (as he and they confidently affirmed to this Deponent) saw that Spirit or vision standing upright, and in the posture aforementioned; but after that time the said Spirit or vision vanished and appeared no more, that she knoweth. And she heard, but saw not, that there were other Visions and Apparitions, and much screeching and strange noyse heard in that River at times afterwards. *Jurat. February 24. 1643.*

Elizabeth the wife of Captain *Rice Price*, of *Armagh*, deposeth & saith, That she and other women, whose Husbands were mured, hearing of divers Apparitions and Visions which were seen near *Portnedown-bridge*, since the drowning of her Children, and the rest of the Protestants there, went unto the Bridge aforesaid about twilight in the evening; then and there upon a sudden there appeared unto them a Vision or Spirit, assuming the shape of a woman, waist-high upright in the water, naked, with elevated and closed hands, her hair hanging down, very white, her eyes seemed to twinkle, and her skin as white as snow; which spirit seemed to stand straight up in the water, often repeated the word *Revenge, Revenge, Revenge*; whereat this Deponent and the rest being put into a strong amazement and affright walked from the place. *Jurat. January 29. 1642.*

Arthur Culm of *Clowoughter* in the County of *Cavan*, Esquire, deposeth, That he was credibly informed by some that were present there, that there were thirty women and young children and seven men flung into the River of *Belterbert*, and when some of them offered to swim for their lives, they were by the Rebels followed in Cots, and knocked on the heads with poles; the same day they hanged two women at *Turbert*; and this Deponent doth verily believe, that *Mulmore O Rely* the then Sheriff, had a hand in the commanding the murder of those said persons, for that he saw him write two Notes which he sent to *Turbert* by *Bryan Rely*, upon whose coming these murders were committed: And those persons who were present also affirmed, that the bodies of those thirty persons drowned did not appear upon the water till about six weeks after past; as the said *Rely* came to the Town, all the bodies came floating up to the very Bridge; those persons were all formerly stayed in the Town by his protection, when the rest of their Neighbours in the Town went away.

Elizabeth Price wife of *Michael Price*, of the *Newry*, deposeth, That *Sir Con Mac-Gennis* suffered his Souldiers, the Rebels, to kill Master *Turge*, Minister of the *Newry*, and several other Protestants; and he the said *Sir Con Mac-Gennis* on his death-bed was so much affrighted with apprehension that the said Master *Turge* so slain, was still in his presence, as that he commanded no Protestants from that time should be slain, but what should be killed in battel; and after his death, *Sir Con Mac-Gennis* his brother, would have observed his directions, but one *John Mac-Gennis* the young Lord of *Evah* and *Monk Crely* were earnest to have all the rest of the Protestants put to death.

Master *George Creighton*, Minister of *Virginia*, in the County of *Cavan*, deposeth, among other particulars in his Examination, That divers women brought into his house a young woman almost naked, to whom a Rogue came upon the way, these women being present, and required her to give him her mony or else he would kill her, and so drew his sword; her answer was, You cannot kill me unless God give you leave, and his will be done: Whereupon the Rogue thrust three times at her naked body with his drawn sword, and yet never pierced her skin; whereat he being, as it seems, much confounded, went away and left her; and that he saw this woman, and heard this particular related by divers women, who were by and saw what they reported.

The cruelties
acted by the
Irish upon
the *British*
were before
any provoca-
tion given
them.

The cruelty
of the *Irish*
in murdering
those Prote-
stants which
remained
among them
when at any
time they
received any
loss by the
English For-
ces.

UPON the view of these Examinations all taken upon Oath, it may easily be conjectured how fatally the first plot took, how furiously the *Rebels* throughout all Parts of the Kingdom proceeded on in their barbarous bloody executions, and what were the courses they held to bring about so suddenly the universal destruction of all the *British* and Protestants there planted. It is most true that in *Lemster* and *Munster* (and yet one would scarce believe it that considers the horrid particulars related in the fore-recited Examinations of those two Provinces) they were not generally so bloody, neither did they begin their work so early as in the Provinces of *Ulster* & *Conaught*. The ill success of the enterprize upon the Castle of *Dublin* did cool them for a time, put them to a stand and caused them to take up new Counsels; But when they had once declared themselves, they did in very few days strip and despoil all the *English* settled among them, and drove great numbers of them even stark naked to several Ports on the Sea-side, there to provide themselves passage for *England*, or otherways most miserably to starve and perish, as many of them did, being inhumanely denied any kind of relief in those Towns under the command of the *Rebels*. And here I must not forget to interpose this certain truth, That in all the four Provinces the horrid cruelties used towards the *British* either in their bloody Massacres, or merciless despoiling, stripping, and extirpation of them, were generally acted in most parts of the Kingdom before they could gather themselves together, to make any considerable resistance against their fury; and before the State had assembled their Forces, or were enabled by the power of his Majesties Arms to make any inroads into the Counties possessed by the *Rebels*: A circumstance which totally destroyeth all those vain pretences and fond recriminations, which they have since most falsely taken up to palliate this their most abominable Rebellion. And this is not to be denied, Though it be also true that those *British* whom they suffered to live among them either upon condition of change of their Religion, out of private interest, or such as they kept in prison, were not put to the sword, until the *Rebels* in the several encounters they had with his Majesties Forces suffered loss of their men, and so being enraged therewith at their return home after any disaster, they fell furiously to take revenge upon such *British*, whether men, women, or children, as they held in most miserable Captivity with them. How far their madness, fury, and most implacable malice, did after the manner of bruit Beasts transport them towards the destruction of those miserable harmless souls they detained among them, doth clearly appear by several particulars expressed in several Examinations. I shall here insert some of them taken upon trust

trust from persons of good quality and credit, who were long prisoners among them.

I find in one part of Doctor *Maxwels* Examination (which I thought not fit wholly to insert, because it is of great length, and many particulars in it, nothing tending to that purpose for which it is formerly mentioned) That about *May* 1642. when the *Scottish* Army under the command of General Major *Monro* had marched down from *Carickfergus*, taken in the *Newry*, beaten the *Irish* out of those Parts with the slaughter of many of them; Sir *Phelim O Neal* caused 5000 *British* whom he detained in *Armagh*, *Tyron*, and other Parts of the North, to be most miserably murdered in the space of three days: *James Shaw* of Market Hill in the County of *Armagh*, deposeth and saith, That during the time this Deponent was in restraint, and stayed among the *Rebels*, he observed and well knew that the greatest part of the *Rebels* in the County of *Armagh* went to besiege the Castle of *Augher* where they were repulsed, and divers of the *Rebels* of the *Sept* of *O-Neals* slain: In revenge whereof, the grand *Rebel* Sir *Phelim O Neal* gave direction and warrant to one *Mulmory Mac Donel*, a most cruel and merciless *Rebel*, to kill all the *English* and *Scottish* within the Parishes of *Mullebrack*, *Logilly* and *Kilcluney*, whereupon the said *Rebel* did murder 27 *Scottish* & *English* Protestants within Musket shot of this Deponents own house; and further saith that in those three Parishes there have been before that and since, by killing, drowning, and starving, put to death above 1500 Protestants within the said three Parishes.

William Fitz-Gerald a Clerk, of Irish birth, dwelling near *Armagh*, and there residing when this Rebellion brake out, deposeth and saith, That all places of the North where Sir *Phelim O Neal* under the name of General of the Catholick Army commanded, were filled with murders of the Protestants: And that when at *Augher*, *Lisnagarne*, or any other places the *Rebels* received loss of their men, those that escaped, exercised their cruelty upon the Protestants every where at their return: And that about the first of *May* 1642. when Sir *Phelim O Neal* had notice of the taking of the *Newry* by his Majesties Forces, he retired that night in all haste to the Town of *Armagh*, and the next day as well the Town of *Armagh* as the Cathedral Church there, and all the Villages and Houses in the Country round about together with all provisions were fired by the *Rebels*; and many men, women and children murdered as well in the Town as in the Country round about.

There is much more to be said on this subject, but I shall forbear to rake further into many other foul circumstances, which would make this Rebellion appear far more odious and detestable. I shall now return to take up the publick affairs of the State, where I left them in the hands of the

the Lords Justices and Council, who finding the City to grow daily more and more impestred with strangers by reason of the resort of great numbers of ill-affected persons that daily made repair thereunto; They issued out several other Proclamations to prohibit the access of all strangers to the Town, and to require such as remained in the City without calling or settled habitation, to depart.

Some Troops
of hors and
Regiments
of foot raised
by the Lords
Justices and
Council.

Sir *Henry Tichborn* being dispatched with his Regiment of foot to *Tredagh* as is formerly mentioned, the Lords Justices took further order for the present raising of other foot Companies; as likewise some Troops of hors which might serve for the defence of the City of *Dublin*, now in most imminent danger by reason of the approaches made by the Forces of the *Rebels*. Sir *Charles Coot* had a Commission for a Regiment, which he quickly made up out of the poor stript *English*, who had repaired from divers parts even naked to the Town, and upon the engagements of the State procured cloaths for them. The Lord *Lambert* to whom a Commission also was granted for the raising of an other Regiment, began also to get some men together. The Earl of *Ormond* was now arrived in *Dublin*, and brought up with him his Troop consisting of 100 *Curassiers* compleatly armed; Sir *Thomas Lucas* who had long commanded a Troop of hors in the *Low-Countrys*, and Captain *Armstrong* sometime after, yet very seasonably came thither: Both of them had mony imprested, Sir *Thomas Lucas* to compleat his Troop already brought out of *England*, Captain *Armstrong* to raise a new Troop; Captain *Yarner* also arrived soon after at *Dublin*, he was sent out of *England* by the Lord Lieutenant to raise and command his Troop, which in a very short time he made up about 100 Hors, many persons then living in the Town being desirous to put themselves and their Horses into that Troop: Not long after Colonel *Graford* came over also, and bringing with him Letters of Recommendations from the *Prince Elector* then attending his Majesty in *Scotland*, under whom he had formerly the command of a Regiment of Dragoons in *Germany*: The Lords Justices thought fit to give him a Regiment which they were then taking order to raise and arm out of such Townsmen as were fit to bear arms within the City of *Dublin*; none were to be admitted into it but Protestants, and out of them they made choice not onely of the Souldiers, but of all the Officers belonging to the same. And further for the repressing of the disorders daily appearing within the City, and restraining the ill-affections of the Papists there inhabiting, they made Sir *Charles Coot* Governour of the City, and gave him an allowance of 40 *S. per diem* for the present. Now while these Colonels and Captains are bestirring themselves in getting their men together under their several commands, and in training them up to the use of their arms: and the

Sir Charles
Coot made
Governour
of the City
of *Dublin*.

Governour of the Town taking strict order for constant Watches within, and Guards without to restrain the repair of all suspicious and ill-affected persons: I shall in the mean time give an account of the adjournment of the Parliament according to the late Prorogation made by the Lords Justices, which some of the ill-affected members of both Houses endeavoured to make use of for the raising of further troubles.

In the Month of *August* before the Rebellion brake out, the Parliament was adjourned to the 17 of *November* next ensuing: Now upon the discovery of the late conspiracy for the surprize of his Majesties Castle of *Dublin*, the ordinary place of meeting for both Houses of Parliament; the Lords finding that the fire was begun in the North, and fearing a general revolt of all other parts of the Kingdom, Resolved as a matter highly tending to the safety and security of the City and Castle to prorogue the Parliament, which they did by Proclamation then set out, until the 24 of *February*. But two or three days before such of the Lords and Commons then in the Town were to meet of course in their severall House for declaring the said Prorogation, it was generally noised abroad that the putting off the Parliament was extreemly ill taken by the Popish Members of both Houses. Mr. *Burk* who was one of the Committee lately employed into *England*, came to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny* West, and highly complaining of the injury which (he said) was done thereby to the whole Nation, hindring them from expressing their loyal affections to his Majesty, and shewing their desires to quell this dangerous Rebellion, and that they had reason to resent it so far, as to complain to the King thereof, as a point of high injustice; His Lordship having acquainted the Board herewith, Mr. *Burk* was presently sent for, and he used the same language in effect there, though with much modesty.

The adjournment of the Parliament.

Hereupon the Lords fell into debate what was fit to be done, and how far it might be thought reasonable in them to condescend to their desires: Some were of opinion that it was fit to disannul the Prorogation, and to give them leave to continue the Parliament according to the first adjournment made the beginning of *August*. They urged the very ill condition of the whole Kingdom in regard of the Northern Rebellion, and that those of the Counties of *Wicklow* and *Wexford*, as well as some other Counties in *Conaght* had already joyned themselves to them; that this Prorogation might peradventure so irritate the *Pale*, and have such an influence into *Munster* as might raise them into Arms, and so put the whole Kingdom into a general combustion. Others of the Board Voted strongly for the holding of the Prorogation according to the time prefixed by the Proclamation, grounding their opinion upon these reasons first, That it would highly trench upon the gravity and wisdom

The Popish party much discontented at it.

of the Board to alter a resolution so solemnly taken up, after a most serious debate and publickly made known throughout the whole Kingdom by Proclamation; That it would be of most dangerous consequence to bring so great a multitude of people to the City in such dangerous times, that the Protestants and well-affected Members of both Houses were for the most part either destroyed, dispersed, or so shut up as they could not repair to the present meeting, and that therefore the *Irish* would be superiour in number and voices, and so wholly carry all things according to their own humour, that considering the small Forces then in the City, such great numbers as might take occasion under colour of coming to the Parliament, to repair thither, could not be admitted without apparent danger and disturbance, and that peradventure they might there find as ill affections as they brought, and so both joyning together they might easily destroy the State with the poor remainders of the *English* Nation in these Parts: Whereupon the Lords thought fit to hold to their Prorogation, yet to endeavour so to attemper and sweeten it, as those who were most averse, might in some measure rest satisfied therewith. And therefore after a long debate of all particular circumstances, they came at length to this resolution, that the Earl of *Ormond*, the Master of the Rolls, and Sir *Pierce Crosby* three Members of the Board, should have a meeting with Mr. *Darcy*, Mr. *Burk*, and some others of the most active and powerful Members of the House of Commons, and that they should let them know from the Lords, that they have understood of their good affections and desires to do somewhat in the House that might tend towards the suppression of this present Rebellion, that they approved extream well thereof: And that howsoever they could by no means remove absolutely the Prorogation, yet that they would descend so far to their satisfaction as to limit it to a shorter time, and that at present they would give them leave to sit one whole day in case they would immediately fall upon the work of making a clear Protestation against the *Rebels*: As also, that they should have liberty if they pleased to make choice of some Members of their own House to send down to Treat with the *Rebels* about laying down of Arms: And for their grievances that their Lordships would with all readiness receive them, and presently transmit them over to his Majesty for a speedy redress: All this was accordingly performed, The meeting was in the Gallery at *Cork* House; Those of the House of Commons seemed at first to be extreamly troubled when they found there was no possibility of altering the present Prorogation: But upon a further debate when they came to understand how ready the Lords were to yield to their satisfaction, and that the time of the Prorogation should be shortened, they seemed to rest indifferently contented, undertook to make the Protestation in
such

such full and ample manner as was desired, and that they would fall immediately upon it and make it the work of the whole day.

Upon the 17 of *November*, the Lords and Commons met in Parliament which was held in the usual place of his Majesties Castle of *Dublin*: And for the better security of the place as well as of the persons of those that were to meet, there was a Guard of Musketers appointed to attend during the time of their meeting, but such care taken that they should carry themselves so free from giving any offence, as no manner of umbrage might be taken at their attendance there. The Houses were both very thin, there were only in the House of Peers some few *English* Lords, three or four Lords of the *Pale*, and some two or three Bishops. In the House of Commons, they took into their consideration upon their first meeting the framing of the Protestation against the *Rebels*. But those of the Popish party spake so ambiguously, and handled the matter so tenderly, as they could not be drawn to stile them by the name of *Rebels*: so as they sent up unto the Lords a very meager cold Protestation against them, which being in their House taken into debate, it was strongly contested by the Protestant Lords that they should be stiled *Rebels*, but that as stiffly opposed by the others. They therefore fell upon a mean betwixt both which gave a kind of accommodation, saying, They had *Rebellionously* and *Traiterously* raised Arms; and so both parties being reasonably satisfied, the Protestation was drawn up and returned back to the House of Commons in this Tenour as followeth,

The Protestation and Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled.

W Hereas the happy and peaceable Estate of this Realm hath been of late, and is still interrupted by sundry persons ill-affected to the Peace and Tranquillity thereof, who contrary to their Duty and Loyalty to His Majesty, and against the Laws of God, and the fundamental Laws of the Realm, have Trayterously and Rebellionously raised Arms, have seized upon some of His Majesties Forts and Castles, and dispossessed

many of His Majesties faithful Subjects, of their Houses, Lands and Goods, and have slain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhumane Outrages, and Acts of Hostility within this Realm.

The said Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, being justly moved with a right sense of the said disloyal Rebellious Proceedings and actions of the persons aforesaid, do hereby protest and declare that they the said Lords and Commons from their hearts, do detest and abhor the said abominable Actions, and that they shall and will to their uttermost power maintain the Rights of his Majesties Crown, and Government of this Realm, and Peace and Safety thereof, as well against the persons aforesaid, their Abettors, Adherents, as also against all forrein Princes, Potentates, and other persons, and Attempts what soever; and in case the persons aforesaid do not repent of their aforesaid Actions, and lay down Arms, and become humble Suitors to His Majesty for Grace and Mercy, in such convenient time, and in such manner and form as by his Majesty, or the chief Governour or Governours, and Council of this Realm shall be set down; The said Lords and Commons do further protest and declare, That they will take up Arms, and will with their Lives and Fortunes suppress them, and their Attempts, in such a way, as by the Authority of the Parliament of this Kingdom, with the Approbation of his most Excellent Majesty, or of his Majesties chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom shall be thought most effectual.

Copia vera Exam. per Phil. Percival.

Cleric. Parliament.

Both Houses of Parliament sate two days, and the time of the Prorogation being shortned unto the 11 of Jan. The Lords made choice of the Lord Viscount Costelo to go into England, to carry over their desires to his Majesty, concerning the means they thought fit to be used for the quenching this present Rebellion: And besides those instructions formerly

men-

mentioned, he had (as I heard) from the Popish Lords some, more private which were to negotiate the staying such Forces as were intended to be sent out of *England* for that end.

Both Houses joyned together to appoint certain Lords and some Members of the House of Commons to go down to the Northern *Rebels*, to understand the cause of their rising in Arms; and referred them to the Lords Justices for their instructions, which accordingly they received together with a Commission under the Great Seal. But the Rebellion having a far deeper root then was at that time discovered; this Commission was of little operation, and the intended Treaty soon vanished. The Northern *Rebels* were then so puffed up with their late victories over the poor surprized, unresisting *English* in those Parts, and had so deeply drenched their hands in the blood of those innocents, as they thought to carry the whole Kingdom before them, and therefore would yield to no Treaties, but in a most barbarous manner tore the Order of Parliament together with the Letter sent unto them, and returned a most scornful Answer, fully expressing thereby how far they were from any thought of laying down Arms, or entertaining any overtures towards an Accommodation.

The Houses
of Parlia-
ment send to
Treat with
the *Rebels*.

Within few dayes after the adjournment of the Parliament, the Lord *Dillon* of *Castelo* accompanied with the Lord *Taffe* imbarqued for *England*, but by a most impetuous storm were driven into *Scotland*, where they landed and went up to *London*. At the Town of *Ware*, their papers were seized upon by directions from the Parliament of *England*, and their persons committed unto safe custody. Mr. *Thomas Burk* went over much about the same time, and certainly upon the same errand: When the unhappy breach began first betwixt the King and the Parliament of *England*, and that his Majesty thought fit to retire to *York*, those two Lords found means to make an escape, and all three constantly followed the Court, where in those high distempers that afterwards hapned in *England*, they easily found means to ingratiate themselves at Court, and had the opportunity to do those good offices for their Country-men which brought on the Cessation of Arms with them in due time.

The Lords Justices and Council by their Letters bearing date about the 20 of *November*, gave unto the Lord Lieutenant a more certain and full account of the state of the Kingdom, then they could any ways do at the first breaking out of the Rebellion, and thereby making known the very ill condition of their present affairs they moved that the supplies of men, mony, Commanders and Arms, mentioned in their former Letters, might be with all speed sent over unto them, and that his Lordship would presently repair hither in his own person to undertake the management of the war. About the tenth of the Month of *Novem-*

Letters writ-
ten to the
Lord Lieut-
nant.

ber, their Lordships received an Answer from the Lord Lieutenant to their former Letters of the 25 of *October*; whereby he gave them to understand, that he had communicated their Letters to the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, and that by Order from their Lordships, he had acquainted both Houses of Parliament with them; that he had also sent to his Majesty still continuing at *Edenborough* in *Scotland*, to represent the condition of their affairs, and that he understood his Majesty had received some advertisements out of the North of *Ireland* of the present Rebellion there: His Lordship also farther let them know, that his Majesty had referred the whole business of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, that they had undertaken the charge and management of the war, that they had declared they should be speedily and vigorously assisted and had designed for their present supplies the sum of 50000 l. and had taken order for making of all further Provisions necessary for the Service, as may appear by the Order of Parliament made there at that time, and transmitted over by the Lord Lieutenant, together with his said Letters unto the Lords Justices, by whose command it was re-printed at *Dublin*, *November* 12. 1641. as here followeth, being intituled,

An Order of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament in *England*, concerning *Ireland*.

THe Lords and Commons in this present Parliament, being advertised of the dangerous Conspiracy and Rebellion in *Ireland*, by the Treacherous and wicked Instigation of Romish Priests and Jesuites, for the Bloudy Massacre and Destruction of all Protestants living there, and other his Majesties Loyal Subjects of English blood, though of the Romish Religion, being ancient Inhabitants within several Counties, and Parts of that Realm, who have always, in former Rebellions, given Testimony of their fidelity to this Crown: And for the utter depriving of his Royal Majesty, and the Crown of *England*, from the Government of that Kingdom, (under pretence of setting up the Popish Religion) Have thereupon taken into their serious Consideration, how those mischievous Attempts might be most speedily, and effectually prevented, wherein the Honour, Safety,

Safety and Interest of this Kingdom, are most nearly and fully concerned. Wherefore they do hereby declare, That they do intend to serve his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes, for the suppressing of this wicked Rebellion, in such a way, as shall be thought most effectual, by the Wisdom and Authority of Parliament: and thereupon have Ordered and Provided for a present Supply of Mony, and raising the number of six thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse, to be sent from England, being the full proportion desired by the Lords Justices, and his Majesties Council resident in that Kingdom, with a Resolution to add such further Succours, as the necessity of those Affairs shall require. They have also resolved of providing Arms, and Munition, not onely for those Men, but likewise for his Majesties faithful Subjects in that Kingdom, with Store of Victuals, and other Necessaries, as there shall be occasion, and that these Provisions may more conveniently be transported thither, they have appointed three several Ports of this Kingdom, that is to say, Bristol, Westchester, and one other in Cumberland, where the Magazines, and Store-houses shall be kept for the Supply of the several parts of Ireland. They have likewise resolved to be humble Mediators to His most Excellent Majesty, for the encouragement of those English, or Irish, who shall upon their own charges, raise any number of Horse, or Foot, for his Service against the Rebels, that they shall be honourably rewarded with Lands of Inheritance, in Ireland, according to their Merits. And for the better inducing the Rebels to repent of their wicked Attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or in his absence to the Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices there, according to the power of the Commission granted them in that behalf, to bestow his Majesties gracious Pardon, to all such as within a convenient time, (to be declared by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices, and Council of that Kingdom) shall return to their due obedience; the greatest part whereof, they conceive have been seduced upon false Grounds, by the cunning and subtle practices of some of the
most

most malignant Rebels, Enemies to this State, and to the Reformed Religion; and likewise to bestow such Rewards, as shall be thought fit, and publisht by the said Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices and Council, upon all those who shall arrest the Persons, or bring in the Heads of such Traytors, as shall be personally named in any Proclamation published by the State there. And they do hereby exhort, and require all his Majesties loving Subjects, both in this, and in that Kingdom, to remember their duty and conscience to God, and his Religion, and the great and eminent danger which will involve this whole Kingdom in general, and themselves in particular, if this abominable Treason be not timely suppressed; and therefore with all readines, bounty, and chearfulness to confer their Assistance in their Persons, or Estates, to this so important and necessary a Service for the common good of all.

Jo. Brown Cleric. Parliament.

Commission granted to the Earl of Ormond, to be Lieutenant General of the Forces in Ireland.

About the same time the Lord Lieutenant finding that he could not procure so speedy a dispatch of all things necessary for the service of *Ireland*, as would enable him presently to repair thither in his own person, made the Earle of *Ormond* Lieutenant General of the Forces there, and sent him over a Commission for the same. And the said Earl did within few days after receive a Letter from his Majesty out of *Scotland*, wherein he was graciously pleased to let him know it was his pleasure to confer upon him that charge. There was then likewise brought over the sum of 20000 l. from the Parliament; the Coyn which arrived here was all in *Spanish* pieces of eight which went for 4 d. in a piece here more then in *England*, and this gain the Parliament was content the Merchants that undertook the transportation should make at that time in regard of the charge and venture they undertook to stand to: It arrived most seasonably even when all that little mony they had was quite spent in raising and paying the new Companies, and that they were wholly destitute of all means to draw in any contributions towards the relieving of their present necessities.

Commissions issued out for the Examination upon Oath of the losses of the British, and the cruelties exercised by the Irish upon them.

There continued daily to repair unto the City of *Dublin*, great numbers of poor distressed *English*, who had been most barbarously stripped, robbed, and despoiled of all their goods and substance, by the *Rebels*. Now that

that it might appear what their losses were, what cruelties were acted, what murders committed, and who were the chief actors in them throughout the several Provinces; The Lords Justices and Council thought fit to issue out a Commission under the Great Seal, directed to certain of the Clergy to take upon oath the several Examinations of all such persons, that having suffered by this present Rebellion would think fit to repair unto them, as will appear by the Commission it self, a Copy whereof I have thought fit to insert,

Charles by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our well-beloved Henry Jones Dean of Kilmore, Roger Puttock, William Huthock, Randal Adams, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, and John Watsons Clerks, Greeting; Whereas divers wicked and disloyal people, have lately risen in Arms in several parts of this Kingdom, and have robbed and spoiled many of our good Subjects, British and Protestants, who have been separated from their several habitations, and scattered in most lamentable manner; And for as much as it is needful to take due Examination concerning the same; Know ye that we reposing special trust and confidence in your care, diligence, and provident circumspection, have nominated and appointed you to be our Commissioners, and do hereby give unto you or any two or more of you, full power and authority, from time to time to call before you, and examine upon Oath on the holy Evangelists (which hereby we authorize you or any two or more of you to administer) as well all such persons as have been robbed and despoiled, as all the witnesses that can give testimony therein, what robberies and spoiles have been committed on them since the 22. of October last, or shall hereafter be committed on them, or any of them, what the particulars were or are, whereof they were or shall be so robbed or spoiled, to what value, by whom, what their names are, or where they now or last dwelt that committed those robberies, on what day or night the said robberies or spoiles committed, or to be committed, were done: what Traiterous or disloyal words, speeches, or actions were then or

at any other time uttered or committed by those robbers or any of them, and how often, and all other circumstances concerning the said particulars and every of them: And you our said Commissioners are to reduce to writing all the Examinations which you or any two or more of you shall take as aforesaid; and the same to return to our Justices and Council of this our Realm of Ireland, under the hands and seals of any two or more of you as afore said. Witness our right trusty and welbeloved Counsellours Sir William Parsons Knight and Baronet, and Sir John Borlace Knight, our Justices of our said Realm of Ireland: Dublin 23. of December in the seventeenth year of our Reign.

Carleton.

The Commissioners above nominated, did very seriously address themselves to this work, employing their pains therein with great diligence and faithfulness; and have so well performed the charge imposed upon them as that by several Examinations, many principal Gentlemen of good estates were discovered to be the chief Actors in the depredations of the *British*, and to have committed many most horrid murders and other notorious cruelties, which through their industry will now remain upon Record, but had otherways been concealed from Posterity, and wrapt up in oblivion. The like Commissions were in a short time after sent into *Munster* and *Ulster*: In the Province of *Munster*, the Commissioners took great care in the Execution of it, many Examinations of high concernment were taken by vertue thereof, though they remain as yet concealed and not returned up according as is required by the said Commissions.

A weekly Fast appointed by the Lords Justices and Council.

Towards the latter end of *November*, the Lords Justices and Council considering the miserable desolations brought upon the whole Kingdom, and the further calamities threatned by War and Famine, did by a Proclamation set forth in print, give strict charge and command; That upon every friday a publick and religious fast should be devoutly and piously observed, in and thorow the whole City and Suburbs of *Dublin*, by all his Majesties people therein, and that Divine Service and Sermons be celebrated and heard upon the said day weekly, in every Cathedral, and other Church and Chappel in the said City and Suburbs thereof: And this to be performed as is expressed in the said Proclamation, to the end that the severe wrath and indignation of Almighty God, may

may be averted from this Kingdom, his divine aid and assistance implored, and that some relief in these calamitous times, may the better be afforded to such miserable persons as these Traytors, by their rapine and cruelty, have deprived of their fortunes, and sent naked and almost famished up to this City.

The Lords Justices and Council being advertised of the near approach of the *Rebels to Tredagh*, prepared to send down supplies both of men and munition, for the re-inforcement of that Garrison: There were already designed 600. Foot and a Troop of horse for that service, and they were almost in a readiness to March when an express from Sir *Henry Tichbourn* came up to the Earle of *Ormond*, to let him know the *Rebels* had that day, being the 21. of *November*, appeared within sight of the Town. He conceived they would presently have set down before it, but they advanced no further that day, only while their Forces made a stand there, they sent down a Party of 1300. Foot to *Milliford*, the Lord *Moore's* house, which their design was suddenly to surprise; but contrary to their expectation, they found there 24. Musketers and 15. horsemen, who very stoutly defended the house as long as their powder lasted: The horsemen when they saw themselves beset so as they could be no further serviceable to the place, opened the gate, issued out and made their passage thorow the midst of the *Rebels*, and so, notwithstanding the opposition they made, escaped safe to *Tredagh*: The foot having refused to accept of the quarter at the first offered, resolved to make good the place to the last man; they endured several assaults, slew 140. of the *Rebels*, before their powder failed them: and at last they gave up the place upon promise of quarter, which was not kept, for some of them were killed in cold blood, all were stripped, and two old decrepitate men slain, the house ransacked, and all the goods carried away.

Upon the receipt of Sir *Henry Tichbourn's* Letter, the Lords presently took order for the marching away of the six hundred men, together with a Troop of Horse towards *Tredagh*: They left not the Town till the 27. of *November*, and such was the negligence of the Captains and disorders of the Souldiers, as notwithstanding they had been three days in readiness to march, they went no further than *Swoords* a Village six miles distant from *Dublin*: The command of the foot was committed to Serjeant Major *Roper*, and of the horse to Sir *Patrick Weames*, who was appointed with 50. of the Earle of *Ormonds* Troop to march with those six Companies to *Tredagh*. The very day of their departure from *Dublin*, there was an advertizement brought unto the Lords, that some Forces of the *Rebels* were drawn on this side the River of the *Boine*, and attended with design to intercept their passage: Whereupon the Earle of *Ormond* by di-

The approach
of the *Rebels*
to *Tredagh*.

Supplies both
of horse and
foot sent for
the relief of
Tredagh.

rection from the Lords dispatched an exprest to give them now upon their March notice thereof, and after to pass on to Sir *Henry Tichbourn* to let him know as much; and that the Recruits designed for the re-inforcement of his Garrison being now upon their march, it highly imported him to take special care for the securing of their passage. And next day his Lordship received an Answer from him of that Letter, with assurance that he would not fail to march out with competent Forces to meet them upon the way, which he did that very day accordingly perform but they marching no further than *Balrudry*, and so lying that night eight miles short of *Tredagh*, he missed of them, and so went not out (by what accident or upon what reason I know not) the day following till the news of the defeat met him at the very gate of the Town where he stood with his men in a readiness to march towards them: The men being altogether untrained and unaccustomed to travel, and failing of provision by the way, which for their money they could not by any means procure from the Country people as they marched along, were very much discontented, and being somewhat tired with their journey went on next day, but in much disorder, so careless, and so little apprehensive of any danger, as some had arms, but no munition about them; others for their own ease committed the carriage of both to the Carts. As they passed through *Garmanston*, the Major went in to give a visit to the Lord of *Garmanston*. who told him that there were some Numbers of men lay in the way with an intent to interrupt their Passage. And this his Lordship knew very well, for the very night before (as Mr. *Creighton* affirms in his examination) one of his grooms went to *Slaine* where the Rebels were then lodged, and called them out of their Beds to be in a readiness to come and incounter the *English* Forces now upon their march. The Major had likewise other advertisements to the same purpose, which he neglected, not so much as acquainting his Captains therewith, as some of them afterwards affirmed; He only caused three Scouts out of the Troop to be sent abroad to make discovery whether the passage were clear; two of them returned back a little before he came to the bridge of *Julians* Town, assuring him all was clear; the other went on to a house within one quarter of a mile of the place where the Rebels lay, and while he attended there for his breakfast, a boy belonging to the house, took his Horse, and riding to the Rebels gave them notice of the near approach of our Forces: The Horse passed the Bridge, and the Foot following turned up into a field on the left hand of the Lane, where by reason of a great mist that suddenly fell, they discovered not the Rebels, till they were almost within Musketshot of them. The Major drew his men presently into Battalia, but the Horse (as some of the foot that escaped affirm) wheeled about without charging any

The defeat of
the forces
sent for the
relief of
Tredagh.

any part of the Rebels Forces, who now furiously approached with a great shout; and a Lieutenant giving out the unhappy word of Countermarch, all the men possessed as it were with a Pannick fear, began somewhat confusedly to march back, but were so much amazed with a second shout given by the Rebels (who seeing them in disorder followed close on) as notwithstanding they had gotten into a ground of great advantage, they could not be perswaded to stand a charge, but betook themselves to their heels, and so the Rebels fell sharply on, as their manner is upon the execution.

Sir *Patrick Weames* without the loss of one Horse passed on safely unto *Tredagh*: The Major with two of the Captains more, and about 100. of their men made an escape thither likewise: The other three Captains with all the rest of the Souldiers that were *English* were there cut off, they spared very few or none that fell into their hands, but such as were Irish, whose lives they preserved: The Armes of the whole six hundred they possessed themselves of, as likewise of all their Munition and Carriages: and so highly were the *Rebels* encouraged with this defeat given to his Majesties Forces, as the whole *Pale* began presently to waver, they thought the Kingdom their own, and that the *English* would in all parts fall before them, as those poor ill conducted sheep had unhappily done. And this is a true Relation (as near as I could collect it from the mouths of those that were present) of that famous victory so much boasted of by the *Irish*, whereunto the inexperienced of the *English* Commanders, and the disorders of the common souldiers, who were then but newly taken up and had never seen any service, contributed far more than any skill or courage shewed by the *Rebels*, which they had only opportunity at that time to express by a loud shout. Besides, they were treble their number, and had for their leaders *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and *Philip O'Rely*, the two last persons who had been trained in the Wars abroad under the Spanish Discipline, and were of greatest experience among them: they brought down a great part of those Forces out of the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*, and as soon as they came within the River of *Boyne*, great numbers of the ordinary churles of the *Pale* adjoynded themselves unto their men, and so made up a body sufficient to perform that service.

The news of this unhappy defeat was brought the very same day being munday the 29 of *November* at evening, to the Lords Justices as they sate in Council: It troubled them very much, and as it was a matter of great rejoycing among the Popish Inhabitants of the City, so it bred a general sorrow and consternation among the *English* and Protestants: It hapned in a very ill season, the late made Colonels

Sir Charles
Coot's Expedi-
tion into the
County of
Wiclow.

were but then in raising of their men : And such Companies as were compleated , were by the Lords the same day of the marching of the 600 men to *Tredagh* , commanded out under Sir *Charles Coot* into the County of *Wiclow* , for the repressing the insolencies of the *Birnes* and the *Tooles* towards the poor *English* , whom they began to fall upon most furiously , stripping , murdering , and driving them all out of that Territory as soon as they had taken in the *Kings Fort* , in that County called *Carews Fort* , and possessed themselves of the chief places of strength belonging to the *English* Gentlemen there : He marched to the Town of *Wiclow* , where he caused some few men and one woman to be executed , they being found upon Examination guilty of the late spoiles committed most barbarously upon the *English* there , and the very cloaths of an *English* woman that was stripped , being found upon the back of that *Irish* woman that was there hanged. In his return *Luke Toole* with near a 1000 *Irish* under his command encountred him , but he quickly made them flie and take to the next Bogge with the loss of some few of their men : And so he returned with all possible speed to *Dublin* , the Lords having sent him notice of the late defeat given to the Forces sent to *Tredagh* : As soon as he arrived , he applyed himself very carefully to the securing of the Town , which now began to be more desperately threatned then ever , by the near approaches of the *Rebels* : And so great were the disorders then in the City , so inconsiderable the Forces raised , the *English* Inhabitants so strangely dismayed , the *Papists* so highly raised in spirit and courage , as had the Commanders of the *Rebels* drawn those Forces together as they had in readiness on both sides the River of *Boyne* for the siege of *Tredagh* , and so marching up to *Dublin* , had taken the advantage of the present distractions , and forward affections which they would have undoubtedly found there to assist them ; They had in all humane probability made themselves Masters of the City , and might so straitly have begirt the Castle , as would within a very short time have endangered the surrender of it ; But it pleased God to infatuate their Counsels : The strong opinion they had that they should presently carry *Tredagh* , and so possess themselves of all the Armes and Munition they had in that Town , caused them to fix their resolutions there , and to set up their rest upon the obtaining that place. In this as in many other wonderful acts of divine providence which I then observed with great admiration , it pleased God to appear even miraculously in the preservation of the City and Castle of *Dublin* with the poor remainders of *English* and *Protestants* , who had there taken sanctuary.

And now the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale* , thought it high time to discover themselves and their affections to the cause : They certainly had not only long entertained a defection in their thoughts , but were

as the several forementioned Examinations testifie, the first contrivers and bringers in of the Northern *Rebels* into this execrable Plot; they had now likewise drawn them into the *Pale*, and therefore they could not hope now much longer to walk under a mask, and entertain the state with further professions of their loyalty; They had gotten a competent proportion of Armes and Munition out of his Majesties store into their own possession: They saw now the Northern *Rebels* advanced within the River of *Boyne*, with very considerable Forces to strengthen their Party, and by the late encounter and successful victory they had therein, they pleased their fancies with confident conceits of certain prevailing, if they would now declare themselves by a publick conjunction in the common cause, and raising such numbers of men and quantities of provision, as the plentiful circuit of the *Pale* did afford, would prosecute the war so happily begun and so successfully managed hitherto.

The defeat
on of the
Lords and
chief Gentle-
men within
the *English*
Pale.

These and several other considerations working very powerfully among the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*. they did within very few dayes after the late defeat solemnly proceed on to the actual consummation of their long meditated revolt; For the manner, place, time, and all other circumstances, I shall refer the Reader to this ensuing Relation given in upon Oath, *March 1641.* before Sir *Robert Meredeth* Knight, Chancellour of the Exchequer, in the Examination of *Edward Dowdall* Esquire a Gentleman of the *Pale*, one very well esteemed among them, one that was present at all their meetings, and deeply engaged in all their counsels and actions.

The manner
of the con-
junction of
the Lords and
chief Gentle-
men of the
English Pale
with the Nor-
thern *Rebels*,
expressed in
the Exami-
nation of
Edward Dow-
dall Esq;

He deposeth that some four or five dayes after the defeat of the *English* souldiers at the Bridge of *Gellianstown*, there issued a Warrant from the Lord of *Gormanston* to the Sheriff of the County for a general meeting of all the County at *Dulick*: But the place of meeting was afterwards changed to the Hill of *Crosby*, where all the Lords and Gentry of the County met, viz. The Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanston*, the Lord of *Slaine*, the Lord of *Louth*, the Lord of *Dunsany*, the Lord of *Trimblestone*, the Lord *Netterville*: And of the Gentry Sir *Patrick Barnwall* Sir *Christopher Bellow*, *Patrick Barnwall* of *Kilbrew*, *Nicholas Darcy* of *Plattin*, *James Bath* of *Acharn*, *Garret Ailmer* the Lawyer, *Cusake* of *Gormanston*, *William Malone* of *Leshmullin*, *Sedgrave* of *Kileglan*, *Linch* of the *Knos*, *Lynam* of *Adamstown*, *Laurence Dondal* of *Athlumney*, *Nicholas Dondall* of *Brownstown* this Examinate brother, and him this Examinee with a multitude of others, to the number of a 1000 persons at the least, whose names he this Examinee cannot for the present call to mind. And after about two or three hours spent upon the said Hill of *Crosby* by the Lords and Gentry

These were
some of the
chief Leaders
among the
Northern
Rebels.

Gentry aforesaid : There came towards them , Colonel *Mahowne*, *Philip O-Rely* , *Hugh Boy-Rely*, *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and Captain *Fox*, attended on with a guard of Musketeers: And this Examine faith , That as soon as the parties drew near unto the said Hill , the Lords and Gentry of the *Pale* rode towards them , and the Lord of *Gormanston*, being one of the first, spake unto them , and demanded of them , Why, and for what reason, they came Armed into the *Pale* ; Unto which *Roger Moore* made present Answer , That the ground of their coming thither, and taking up Armes, was for the freedom and liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of his Majesties Prerogative , in which they understood he was abridged, and the making the subjects in this Kingdom as free as those in *England* were whereupon the said Lord of *Gormanston* desired to understand from them truly and faithfully, whether those were not pretences, and not the true grounds indeed of their so doing, and likewise whether they had not some other private ends of their own ; which being by all denyed, upon profession of their sincerity, his Lordship the Lord of *Gormanston* then told them : Seeing these be your true ends, we will likewise joyn with you therein : unto which course all agreed. And thereupon it was publickly and generally declared, that whosoever should deny to joyn with them , or refuse to assist them therein, they would account him as an Enemy, and to the utmost of their power labour his destruction. And this Examine faith, That after the agreement so made as aforesaid, There issued an other Warrant to the Sheriff of the County of *Meath*, to summon all the Lords and Gentry of the County of *Meath*, to be at the Hill of *Turagh* about a week after ; and accordingly there met at the same place the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord of *Gormanston*, and the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen aforesaid, together with Sir *Thomas Nugent*, and *Nicholas Plunket* the Lawyer, *Birford* the Lawyer, and a multitude of others, and the work of that day was first to make Answer to a Summons made by the State for the calling of the Lords unto *Dublin*, which Answer was brought ready drawn by the Lord of *Gormanston*, and presented by his Lordship, and being perused by the said Council at Law was signed by the Lords.

In this manner was this great transaction most solemnly consummated betwixt *Lemster* and *Ulster* ; *Valence* and *Brabant* , as Sir *Phelem O-Neale* styles them in his *Characteristical* Letter before mentioned, sent to *Owen Roe O-Neale* in *Flanders*, were now publickly united together in that great Assembly. The Lord Viscount *Gormanston* on the one side, and *Roger Moore* on the other, had both been long tampering about the drawing of this most important work to the form it now received, they had at length brought it unto perfection, they two had the glory of it,
and

and appeared the great publick instruments of this powerful union.

The Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, having thus far declared themselves became so high and presuming, as they little valued what was done or commanded by the State at *Dublin*: they now wholly applied their endeavours to make such preparatives towards the war, as might strengthen their party, which as is now stood in conjuncture with the Northern *Rebels* they beheld as invincible, and their power not to be resisted by the inconsiderable Forces drawn together by the Lords Justices and Council at *Dublin*: Several Gentlemen who in the several Counties of the *Pale* were made Captains, and had received Arms from the State for their Companies, departed from their obedience, and addressed themselves and their Companies wholly to the service of the *Rebels*. *Nicholas White* Esquire Son and Heir to Sir *Nicholas White* of *Lislip*, was the first that gave the example about the second of *December*: but he carried the matter so handsomely, as his Company ran away to the *Rebels*, as he pretended, without his consent or even his knowledge any longer time before their departure, than to give him opportunity to come and acquaint the State therewith, and his own disability to hinder the same: But before it was possible to use any means of prevention, the men were all gone with their Arms and Munition to the *Rebels*: Many of the other Captains desired no such fine cover for their intentions, but delivered themselves and their Arms up to be disposed as they should direct without any further scruple or complement to the State: Whereupon the Lords finding how notoriously they were abused by the very great confidence reposed in such Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as being made Captains, had received Arms from them, and perceiving what course they began now to steer, and how they were resolved to employ their own Arms against them, they took such order, and with such celerity and diligence made stay of several of those Arms, which were delivered out for the use of the *Pale*, as of the 1700. Arms distributed among the several Counties thereof they recovered again into their hands 950.

And now by reason the Northern *Rebels* had settled their Camp within the River of *Boyne*, and so lay betwixt *Tredagh* and the City of *Dublin*, all intercourse in the *Pale* was interrupted, the passages stopt up, and the Lords Justices and Council understood very little or nothing of any proceedings held there. They therefore finding their dangers daily to encrease through the near approach of the *Rebels* unto the City of *Dublin*, the continual affronts, and new scorns the State dayly received from them, their own want of strength to repress their bold attempts, or to preserve the poor *English* round about them out of their bloody hands, resolved now in these their high extremities, to try the effects of those large prote-

The endeavours of those of the *Pale* to strengthen their party against the power of the State.

The Reasons why the State summon'd the grand Council of all the Lords of the *Pale*, and others then in the City of *Dublin*.

stations and great professions of loyalty the Lords of the *Pale* had lately made unto them, and to give them a fair opportunity of rendring a most acceptable service to his Majesty and the state here. For this end therefore they determined to call a grand Council of all the Lords which resided within any convenient distance of the City of *Dublin*: clearly and freely to represent unto them the ill condition of their affairs, and how highly it imported them in respect of their own particular safety, as well as for the preservation of the whole Kingdom, not only to contribute their best advice and counsel, but euen all the Forces they could any ways raise towards the beating of the Northern *Rebels* out of the *Pale*. Several Letters of Summons were accordingly writ and sent away to the Earle of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanston*, and the rest of the Lords of the *Pale*; the tenour of them here ensueth.

A Copy of
the letter
written by
the Lords
Justices and
Council to
the Lords of
the *Pale*.

After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship, for as much as we have present occasion to confer with you, concerning the present estate of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof in these times of danger: We pray and require your Lordship to be with us here on the eight day of this Month, at which time others of the Peers are also to be here: And this being to no other end, we bid your Lordship very heartily farewell. From his Majesties Castle of Dublin the third of December, 1641.

Your very loving friends

To our very good Lord

George Earle of
Kildare.

*Willam Parson. Johu Borlacy.
Ormondossory. Ant Medensis.
R. Dillon. Ad. Loftus,
Ge. Shirley. J. Temple.
Rob. Meredith.*

The like Letters *eodem die*, to these several
Persons following:

Earle of <i>Ormond</i> .	Vis. <i>Gormanston</i> .	Lord <i>Dunsany</i> .
	Vis. <i>Neterville</i> .	Lord <i>Slaine</i> .
Earle of <i>Antrim</i> .	Vis. <i>Fitzwilliam</i> .	Lord of <i>Hoath</i> .
		Lord <i>Louth</i> .
Earle of <i>Fingale</i> .	Lo. <i>Trinbleston</i> .	Lord <i>Lambert</i> .

These

These Letters were presently sent away: But the Lords of the *Pale* being otherways engaged, and having before or much about the time they came unto their hands (though the Lords knew very little, and that very uncertainly of it) made that publick combination with the *Ulster Rebels* before mentioned, durst no more adventure their persons within the City of *Dublin*: But after their meeting at the Hill of *Croft*, appointed an other meeting at the Hill of *Tarah*, and from thence they sent an Answer unto the Lords, which as Mr. *Drowdall* testifies, was brought thither by the Lord of *Gormanston* ready drawn up, and there only signed and so sent away. The Copy of the Letter here followeth:

May it please your Lordships,

WE have received your Letters of the third of this instant, intimating that you had present occasions to confer with us, concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof in these times of danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the eighth day of this instant, we give your Lordships to understand, that we have heretofore presented our selves before your Lordships, and freely offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars aforesaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us cause to conceive that our Loyalty was suspected by you. We give your Lordships further to understand, that we have received certain advertisement, that Sir Charles Coot Knight, at the Council Board, hath uttered some speeches tending to a purpose and resolution, to execute upon those of our Religion a general Massacre, by which we are all deterred to wait on your Lordships, not having any security for our safety from these threatened evils, or the safety of our lives; but do rather think it fit to stand upon our best guard until we hear from your Lordships how we shall be secured from these perils. Nevertheless, we all protest that we are and will continue both faithful advisers; and resolute furtherers of his Majesties service concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof to our best abilities, and so with the said tender of our humble service we remain.

The Answer
of the Lords
of the *Pale* to
the Lords Ju-
stices.

To the Right Honourable our very
good Lords the Lords Justices
and Council of Ireland.

Your Lordships humble Servants,

Fingal, Gormanston, Slane,
Dunsany, Netterwill, Oliver
Lowth, Trimblestown.

Dublin, Decemb. 7. Received 11. 1641.

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In

A proclamation issued out by the Lords Justices and Council for the satisfaction of the Lords of the Pale.

In Answer to this Letter, the Lords Justices and Council, out of their unfeigned desires to give unto those Lords all due satisfaction, and to remove those jealousies and great misunderstanding now grown up between them, thought fit by way of Proclamation to publish and declare to them and all others of His Majesties good Subjects of the *Romish* Religion, That they never heard Sir *Charles Coot*, or any other utter at the Board or elsewhere, any such speeches tending to a purpose or resolution to execute upon those of their profession, or upon any other a general Massacre or any Massacre at all, and that they never intended so to dishonour his Majesty and this State, or wound their own consciences as to entertain the least thought of acting so odious, impious, and detestable a thing upon any persons whatsoever; and that if any proof can be made of any such words spoken by any person whatsoever, that he shall be severely punished. And therefore that they did pray and require the said Noblemen to attend them at the Board, on the 17. day of *December*, that they might confer with them: And for the security of their repair unto them, they did thereby give to all and every of those Noblemen, the word and assurance of the State, that they might then securely and safely come unto them without danger of any trouble or stay whatsoever, from them who neither had nor have any intention to wrong or hurt them.

Several pretences of the Lords of the Pale to colour their refusal to repair to the Lords Justices and Council.

But now it began to appear unto the Lords Justices and Council, how far they were engaged with the Northern *Rebels*. By the Examinations taken of some *English*, who made their escape out of those parts, the news of their solemn contract and Association before mentioned was brought up to *Dublin*: And they then well enough discerned the main obstruction in their coming, the cause of their tergiversations, and what good reason they had to find out excuses to *palliate* their *disloyalty*. They then expected no other fruits of their Proclamation than what it produced: Neither indeed had it any other effect and operation among them, than that they did with great boldness and confidence by way of Answer thereunto, write back a Letter to the Lords Justices wherein they pretend themselves so justly affrighted with Sir *Charles Coot*'s severity and deportment, as that they dare not adventure themselves within the confines of his Government: They heavily impose upon him the inhumane acts perpetrated as they term them in the County of *Wiclow*, the Massacre of *Santry* and the burning of Mr. *Kings* house and his whole substance at *Clantarfe*, and with a little kind of cunning, they seem to pretend a breach of the publick faith, but would transfer the blame from the Lords Justices to Sir *Charles Coot*, and thereupon desire no sinister construction may be made of their stay, and

and that they may have some Commissioners appointed to confer with them, and so conclude with some professions of their Loyalty and readiness to give their advices for the advancement of his Majesties service, and the common peace of the Kingdom.

This was an Answer, such as might justly be expected to come from persons so deeply now involved in the guilt of so high a Rebellion. It is no wonder that they were thus put to their shifts, and enforced to take up such fond excuses, and imaginary pretences for their disloyalty: For they could not in their own consciences, but be most sensible of the very great indulgence used by the Lords towards them: They had not failed in several particulars to manifest the great confidence they had in their good affections: They had refrained from giving them any manner of provocation or jealousy. They had forbore the doing some acts of hostility for a time upon some *Rebels* among them, because they would not give them any the least cause of complaint. And however, it appeared by the Examination of *Mac Mahone* and several others, that they were privy to the first plot, yet the Lords proceeded with so much caution and tenderness towards them, hoping that now the Conspirators had failed in the main part of their design which was the surprisal of the Castle of *Dublin*, that they might yet reclaim them thereby, & draw them into a just concurrence with them, for the preservation of the Kingdom out of the hands of those bloody Northern *Rebels*, who in the beginning were the only appearers in the cause: But all was to no purpose, they were too deeply engaged to recede; therefore they ran now violently on, and drew along all the chief Gentlemen likewise of the *Pale* with them.

And now it shall be declared, how the chief Gentlemen of the *Pale* began and proceeded on to act their parts: About the beginning of *December*, presently after the late defeat given to the *English* souldiers in their march to *Tredagh*, *Luke Netterville* second Son to the Lord Viscount *Netterville*, caused a Proclamation to be made in the Market place of *Lusk*, requiring all the chief Gentlemen and other Inhabitants thereabouts, not to fail upon pain of death, presently to repair unto *Swords*, a Town within six miles of the City of *Dublin*. And within few days after, did meet there the said *Luke Netterville*, *George Blackney* Esq; *George King*, *Job. Talbot*, *Rich. Golding*, *Tho. Russel*, *Christopher Russel*, *Patrick Caddel*, *Will. Travers*, *Rich. Barmwell*, *Laurence Bealing*, *Holywood* of *Artaine*, and several other Gentlemen who began to gather great numbers of men about them, & putting such Arms into their hands as they had in readiness, at the present made their provisions to entertain a settled Camp within that place. The Lords understanding of this unlawful tumultuous Assembly, and deeply apprehending the mischievous consequences that might ensue thereupon, sent this Warrant following in a fair requiring thereby their present repair unto them.

The great indulgence used by the Lords Justices and Council towards the Lords of the *Pale*.

Luke Netterville and others of the chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, gathered Forces and quarter them within six miles of the City of *Dublin*.

The Gentlemen of the *Pale* required by the Lords Justices and Council to repair to *Dublin*.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

William Parsons. Jo. Burlace.

WHereas we have received information, that Luke Netterville Esquire, Blackney of Rickenhore Esquire, and George King of Clontarfe Gentleman; and other Gentlemen of the County of Dublin, with great numbers of men are assembled together in a body at Swords and there abouts, within six miles of this City, for what intent we know not, but apparently to the terrour of his Majesties good Subjects, and although, considering the unseasonableness of this time chosen for such an act without our privity (whatsoever their pretence is) a construction might be made thereof to their disadvantage; yet we being willing to make an indulgent interpretation of their actions in regard of the good opinion we have of the Loyalty of those Gentlemen who (it seems) are principals amongst them in that Assembly, and conceiving there may be some mistaking in that enterprize, we have chosen the rather hereby to charge the said Luke Netterville, Blackney, King, and all the persons there Assembled with them, upon their duties of Allegiance to his Majesty, immediately upon sight hereof to separate, and not to unite any more in that manner without direction from us: and that the said Nettervil, Blakney, King, and six others of the principal persons of those who are so assembled at Swords or thereabouts as aforesaid, do appear before us to morrow morning at ten of the Clock, to shew the cause of their assembling in that manner, whereof they may not fail at their extream perils. Given at his Majesties Castle of Dublin 9 December 1641.

Ormond Ossory, Rob. Dillon,
Cha. Lambart, Jo. Temple,
Charles Coot.

But they were so far from rendring obedience to the commands they received from the Board, as they kept the Messenger in restraint a day and a night, threatening to hang him, and after returned a scornful peremptory Answer, signifying unto their Lordships, *That they were constrained to meet there together, for the safety of their lives, that they were put in so great a terror by the rising out of some horse Troops and foot Companies at Dublin, who killed four Catholicks for no other reason, than that they bore the name of that Religion, as they durst not, as they pretended, stay in their houses, and therefore resolved to continue together, till they were assured by their Lordships of the safety of their lives before they run the hazard thereof, by manifesting their obedience due unto their Lordships.* These were the very words and expressions used by those Gentlemen in their Answer: And accordingly they still continued together, encreasing their number of men and threatening to come down and encamp themselves at *Clantarfe*, a little Village standing upon the very Harbour of *Dublin*; where some of their followers had already at a low water seized upon a Bark lying there, and carried away all the Commodities they found in her; a great part whereof they had put into the then dwelling house of the said *King*, to whom that Village did belong. This was an act of so high a strain, and so eminently tending to the present ruine of the City, as it required a sudden remedy; Delays were dangerous in a matter of such perilous consequence; and the Lords Justices and Council, plainly perceived that if the *Rebels* were suffered to come down and lodge there, that they might without much difficulty make themselves masters of those few Barks then in the Harbour (the State having at that time no Ships of force to guard them) and so put themselves in a fair way if they could bring the *Wexford* Ships about to joyn with them to block up the Harbour, and stop the coming in to their relief all such succours as should be designed in *England* to Land at that Port. Whereupon the Lords finding that the said *King* continued still with *Luke Netterville* and those other Gentlemen at *Swoords*, that they carried themselves with such high contumacy, as that disdaining to render any obedience to their Warrant, they neither made their departure from that place, disbanded their men, nor so much as pretended to repair to them according to their commands at the time prefixed therein: It was thought high time to take some other course with them; And therefore about four days after, the day first set down by the Lords for their appearing before them, and the very next day after, another Proclamation published for their immediate separation, the Lords Justices and Council made this ensuing Order, directed to the *Earl of Ormond* Lieutenant General of his Majesties forces in *Ireland*.

The Answer
made by the
Pale, to the
Lords War-
rant.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

William Parsons. Jo. Burlace.

A Warrant
from the
Lords Justi-
ces and
Council for
the suppress-
ing of the
Rebels of
the Pale.

FOrasmuch as divers of the Inhabitants of Clantarfe, Raheny and Kilbarrock, have declared themselves Rebels, and having robbed and spoiled some of his Majesties good Subjects, are now assembled thereabouts in Arms in great numbers, mustering and training of their Rebellious multitudes, to the terrour and danger of his Majesties good Subjects, as well at Land as at Sea, which their boldness is acted in such manner as to put scorns and affronts upon this State and Government, they acting such depredations even before our faces and in our own view as it were in despite of us: It is therefore ordered, that our very good Lord the Earl of Ormond and Ossory Lieutenant General of the Army, do forthwith send out a party of Souldiers of horse and foot, to fall upon those Rebels at Clantarfe and thereabouts, who in such disdainful manner, stand to out-face and dare us, and to endeavour to cut them off, as well for punishment as terrour to others, and to burn and spoil the Rebels houses and goods: And to prevent their further annoying of the shipping, going out and coming in and lying in harbour; those Souldiers are to bring up or cause to be brought up to the new Crane at Dublin, such of the Boats and Vessels now lying there as they can upon the sudden, and to burn, spoil and sink and make unserviceable the rest. Given at his Majesties Castle of Dublin. December 14. 1641.

Ormond Ossory, Rob. Dillon.
Cha. Lambart, Ad. Loftus,
Jo. Temple, Cha. Coote,
Fran. Willoughby.

According to their Lordships directions, the Earle of Ormond gave present order to Sir Charles Coote to march out privately with some Forces unto *Clantarfe*, which he did without any noise, and meeting there with no opposition, he only suffered his men to pillage the Town, whereof they burnt some part, as also part of Mr. Kings house, in which much of the goods were found that had been taken out of the Bark before mentioned: And this was the first expedition that the Forces newly raised in *Dublin*, made after the defeat of the 600. men in their passage to *Tredagh*: As for the Massacre at *Santry* mentioned in the Answer from the Lords of the *Pale*, and obtruded to the World, as a just pretence to deter them from waiting on the Lords at *Dublin*, it was no other than this: Information was given to some of the Officers of the Army, that there had been a robbery newly committed by certain Rebels at the house of one *Smith* called the *Buskin*, within five miles of the City: And that if a Party of Souldiers might be sent forth, the Informer offered to bring them upon those Rebels, as also upon other Rebels, who had lately murdered one Mr. *Derick Hubert* a Dutch Merchant at the *Skerries*; whereupon two Officers with 40. foot were sent out with direction to fall upon those Rebels: They went directly to *Santry*, and there finding some strangers with weapons lodged in suspicious places, they slew four of them who as was conceived were criminal Offendours, and one of them after upon further enquiry found to be a Protestant.

Sir Charles Coote marches out with some Forces to *Clantarfe*.

The true Relation of the perpetrated Massacre at *Santry*.

But how fairly soever this matter was carried, yet they resolved to make use of it for the present, by way of justification of their disloyalty: And having so far publickly declared themselves, they held it not fit to sit idle any longer, but began to put the whole Circuit of the *Pale* into a posture of Warr, and to make all such preparatives as might enable them by the powerful assistance they had out of the North, presently to take in *Tredagh*, and afterwards to march up to *Dublin*, and there make themselves Masters of that City and Castle: A work as now it stood represented unto them not likely to prove less glorious than successful, and easie to be achieved: They had for this end many publick meetings among themselves, as also with the chief Commanders of the Northern Rebels.

The proceedings held by the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *English Pale*, after they had joyned with the Northern Rebels.

In the first place, they declared the Lord Viscount *Gormanstone* General of the Forces to be raised in the *Pale*, *Hugh Birne* Lieutenant General, the Earle of *Fingale* General of the horse: Then they gave power to those Lords to nominate Captains in several Baronies to be respectively appointed out of them, and likewise to raise Souldiers in every such Barony, viz. eight Souldiers out of a Plowland-land (which contains according to the ancient estimation 120. Acres) and every Plowland to maintain the Souldiers to be set out by them: The Ba-

rony of *Duleek* was assigned to the Lord of *Gormanston*, the Barony of *Screene* and *Desse* to the Earle of *Fingale*, the Barony of *Slaine* to the Lord of *Slaine*, the Barony of the *Navan* to the Lord of *Trimblestone*, *Kells* to the Lord *Dunsany*, *Ratogh* and *Dunboine* to Sir *Richard Barnewall* of *Crickstown* Baronite, and *Patrick Barmwell* of *Cilbrew*; and by these persons, several Captains were appointed, and numbers of Souldiers raised according to the orders set down at the General meeting: There were also Warrants issued out by the Lord *Gormanston*, whereby those persons appointed to raise the men, and to furnish them with provisions for their entertainment, were required upon pain of death to send them out: Other Warrants were likewise sent out to other persons who were appointed Overseers for the threshing out of all the Protestants corn, which was assigned generally through the *Pale* to be applied towards the maintenance of their Army. The next work was to make a constant provision of all manner of necessaries for the entertainment of such Forces as were already brought down out of the North, as well as those raised in the *Pale*, and set down at the siege of *Tredagh*. And for this service they seised the whole Country thereabouts, and ordered what proportions of corn and numbers of Cattle should be brought down out of every part for the victualling of those that lay encamped about the Town: There was allotted to every Company consisting of a hundred men, for their daily allowance, one biese, and half a barrel of corn: And that they might with the more facility bring in the Country people to furnish their Army with these proportions; they made not only prohibitions that no corn should be carried to *Dublin*, but so blocked up the ways as the poor churles that lived somewhat distant from the City, could not carry their corn thither without apparent danger; whereby the Market began to be very ill provided, and great want and scarcity was much feared by reason of the large accession of people come from several parts of the Kingdom up unto the City for safety. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council made Proclamations to be published, That all such as had corn remaining within some few miles distance, should as their usual manner was, bring it to the Market at *Dublin*, and they should receive ready mony for the same in case they did not that, they would presently send out Parties and burn their corn as it stood in the haggards, and so prevent the use the *Rebels* intended to make of it for the victualling of their Army. By this means the City was indifferently well supplied all that winter with corn, the Country people though otherways very malicious against the *English* & Protestants, being content though with much hazard, to adventure the bringing their corn, where they sold it at a good rate for ready mony, rather than to suffer it to be threshed out by Warrants from the Lord of *Gormanston* for the use of the *Irish* Army then lying before *Tredagh*.

But

But while they continue their fruitless and unprofitable attempts there, having neither skill, courage, experience, nor any means to bring about their impetuous desires and fond endeavours for the taking in of that Town, I shall briefly represent a view of the sad estate of our affairs in *Dublin*: It was now almost full two Months since the breaking out of this Rebellion; The Lords Justices and Council out of their deep apprehensions of a general revolt of all the *Irish* through the Kingdom, did in the very beginning with much earnestness sollicite the present sending over of Succours out of *England*: And as soon as they began to make a little further discovery into the strength of this Conspiracy, and found their own wants and utter disabilities to make any long or considerable opposition against the universal power of the whole body of the *Irish*, as it then began to appear unto them, firmly united with almost all the *Old English* that were of the *Romish* Profession incorporated into their party throughout *Ireland*, they did with much more earnestness by their frequent Letters and several Agents, represent unto His Majesty and the Parliament of *England*, the very ill even desperate condition they were in; and therefore desired that supplies both of men, mony and all kind of warlike provisions, might be sent away with all speed into them, declaring that unless they received them presently, and that in great proportions, they were not able longer to subsist as they stood now environed on all sides with multitudes of the *Rebels*, but had just reason to apprehend their own present ruin, and the inevitable loss of the whole Kingdom: And because they conceived the Levies in *England* could not be so suddenly made, nor the men so easily transported from thence into the North of *Ireland* (where the *Rebels* appeared in greatest numbers, and had by their most unparallel'd cruelty towards the *English* done most mischief) as out of *Scotland*: They made a proposition to the Lord Lieutenant, to move both His Majesty and the Parliament, that 10000 *Scots* might be presently raised and sent over into those Parts. This they pressed with much earnestness, representing the very great terrour the meer *Irish* had of that Nation, that their bodies would better sort with that Climate, endure more hardship, and with less distemper undergo the toil and miseries of an *Irish* war, that the transportation would be made with much more facility and less charge, it being not above three or four hours sail from some parts of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*, That the Kingdom of *Scotland* had been lately in Arms, and so had all provisions necessary for the furnishing of their men for this expedition in readiness: And lastly, they having so good a foundation in the multitude of their own Countrymen so advantageously settled there already, would no doubt undertake the work with all alacrity, and vigorously prosecute the war with such sharpness, as might testify their deep resentment of the horrid cruelties exercised upon so many thousands of their own Nation by that barbarous people.

The sad condition of the publick affairs of the State.

The sending of 10000 *Scots* into *Ireland* pressed by the Lords Justices and Council.

Commissioners sent out of Scotland to Treat with the Parliament of England concerning the relief of Ireland.

These Letters arrived very opportunely about the time of the Kings return from *Edenburgh* to the Parliament of *England* then sitting at *Westminster*: And there being even then two *Scottish* Lords come out of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to Treat with the Parliament of *England* concerning the sending Forces from thence for the relief of *Ireland*. His Majesty sent to the Lords and Commons to give them notice of their arrival, and withal desired, that certain Commissioners appointed by himself, and both Houses of Parliament, might be presently named to Treat with them, and from time to time, give an account of their proceedings to His Majesty and both Houses. This motion was with very great readiness yielded unto, and it was ordered, that the Earle of *Beaforth*, the Earle of *Leicester* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Lord *Howard of Estric*; nominated by the House of Peers: And *Nathaniel Fiennes* Esquire, Sir *William Ermin* Baronite, Sir *Philip Stapleton* Knight, *John Hampden* Esquire, nominated by the House of Commons, should Treat with the *Scottish* Commissioners concerning the affairs of *Ireland*, and that there should be a Commission granted unto them to this effect, under the great Seal of *England*, together with particular Instructions to regulate the manner of their proceedings.

Propositions presented to the Parliament of England for the relief of Ireland.

In the propositions given in by the *Scottish* Commissioners, they did in the first place make offer of 10000 men in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: And that they might be enabled to send them speedily away, they desired an advance of 30000. l. of the brotherly assistance afforded unto them by the Kingdom of *England*, and that what Arms and Munition they sent into *Ireland*, might in the same proportion be returned unto them with all expedition.

Next they desired that some ships of War might be appointed to guard the Seas betwixt *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to waite over their Souldiers which they designed to transport in small vessels.

And then that upon landing of their men in *Ireland*, there should be a 100 horse ready to joyn with every 1000 foot that they should send thither: And that they should receive Instructions and Orders, and in every thing obey the *Scottish* General.

These propositions being taken into consideration in the House of Commons, after they had duly considered of them, and weighed the high necessities of this Kingdom, that the *Scots* had 2500 men ready raised, and that they could not so suddenly make provision any other way for the saving *Ireland*, as by sending these Forces out of *Scotland*, they readily condescended unto them, and having voted them severally, they sent them up to the House of Peers, with their desires for a speedy concurrence in them.

These beginnings gave great hopes of the sudden relief of *Ireland*, and it was now generally believed; that considerable Forces would be transported within

within a very short time out of *Scotland* for the defence of the Northern parts of this Kingdom ; especially considering with how much earnestness his Majesty in his Speech made to the Lords and Commons in Parliament on the 14 of *December*, in this present year, had pressed them to take to heart the business of *Ireland*, and offered unto them whatsoever his power, pains or industry could contribute to the good and necessary work of reducing the *Irish* Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

But alas these great expectations were soon dashed, and the Forces designed for *Ireland*, as well out of *England* as *Scotland* strangely retarded by several obstructions which daily arose in the transaction of the *Irish* affairs.

The Forces
designed for
Ireland re-
tarded.

For first, his Majesty in the same Speech, wherein he conjured them, by all that was dear to him or them, to go on chearfully and speedily for the reducing of *Ireland*, did take notice of a Bill for pressing Souldiers for *Ireland* depending in the House of Peers, and declaring his dislike of putting it in that way, told them he would pass it so there were a *salvo jure* put into it both for the King and people, but withall, told them that he thought himself little beholding unto him whosoever it was, that began this dispute so far trenching upon the bounds of his ancient and undoubted prerogative.

These passages in his Majesties Speech were deeply resented, not only by the Lords, who were more particularly concerned in them, but by the House of Commons : And therefore his Majesty had no sooner ended his Speech and left their House, but that the Lords fell into consideration of the same, and resolved that the King by taking notice of the debate in their House of the Bill, concerning pressing of Souldiers, had broken the fundamental priviledges of Parliament. And presently a Message was brought unto them, likewise by Mr. *Hellis* from the House of Commons, to desire a conference with their Lordships by Committees of both Houses touching the Priviledges of Parliament : At the conference they fully expressed the deep sense they had of the high injury offered unto them, by his Majesty in invading their Priviledges, and proceeded so far as to come not only to Petition his Majesty, and to desire that he would be pleased to make known that person who had given him information so unduly of what had passed in their House : but also, to make a Protestation concerning their Priviledges : This took up some time, and the great misunderstanding even which then began to appear betwixt his Majesty and the Parliament, had so strong an influence into the business of *Ireland*, as notwithstanding the high necessities of this Kingdom, and the great affections expressed by the Kingdom of *England* for our sudden relief here, the resolutions were slow, and the preparations went so heavily on, as it was long before the House of Commons could find means to enable the Lord Lieutenant to send so much as one Regiment away out of *England*, for the defence of the Castle and

The debate
of the propo-
sitions pre-
sented by the
*Scottish Com-
missioners* in
the House of
Peers.

City of *Dublin*, then much distressed by the near approach of the *Rebels*.

And now for the Forces to be sent out of *Scotland* into the Northern Parts of this Kingdom, they meet with several obstructions likewise. For first, the Commissioners of *Scotland* had not power given them from the State there to Treat for the sending over a lesser number than 10000 men, which the Lords here were very unwilling to condescend unto. But this obstacle was soon removed by the zealous affections of the House of Commons, who as soon as the Propositions brought in by the *Scottish Commissioners* for the relief of *Ireland*, were presented unto them, voted their assent to Treat for the sending of the number of 10000 men out of *Scotland*, according to the instructions given to the Commissioners by that Kingdom, and sent up a Message to the House of Peers by Sir *Philip Stapleton* Knight, to lay before their Lordships, the miserable estate of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to let them know that the House of Commons conceived the best way for the preservation of it out of the hands of the *Rebels*, was speedily to dispatch the *Scots* into the Province of *Ulster*, and therefore desired that they would joyn with them in the Propositions received from the *Scottish Commissioners*.

Upon the receipt of this Message, the House of Peers fell upon the said Proposition, and after a long debate, it was at length agreed that 10000 *Scots* should be sent into *Ireland*, if the House of Commons would condescend that at the same time there might 10000 *English* men be as speedily sent likewise thither, and thereupon desired a conference with the House of Commons, that they might fully understand their resolution therein, which being yielded unto by the House of Commons, The Lords at the conference pressed with much earnestness, that they might be assured of the sending over of 10000 *English* at the same time that the *Scots* were to be sent away: whereunto the House of Commons replied, that they were not to be capitulated withall, that their actions were free as well without conditions as capitulations, that they thought they had given sufficient certainty already of their resolution to send that number of *English* into *Ireland*, and therefore desired that their Lordships would Vote the sending away of 10000 *Scots* by it self without any relation to the *English* spoken of by them.

This took up a large debate in the House of Peers, and was one main cause of the slow proceeding on of the Treaty with the *Scottish Commissioners*. I shall not undertake to determine at so great a distance from whence these obstructions grew, but I am very sure we could here easily find, that there were some such secret workings underhand against the good affections expressed by the House of Commons, and by the Lords who were well affected to the service of *Ireland*, as that this Treaty was very much retarded thereby,

thereby, and was not brought on to any conclusion in many Months after. So as in the mean time, all the *British* planted throughout this Kingdom, were despoiled, driven out of their habitations, or most cruelly murdered within their own doors: and the *Irish* strengthened themselves in all parts of the Country and prevailing every where, drew many to joyn with them, that had hitherto kept themselves in a kind of Neutrality, as supposing that the State here would be altogether deserted, and no Forces at all sent out of *England* for the suppressing of the *Irish* as had taken up Armes in this quarrel.

The whole Province of *Munster* about the midst of this Month of *December*, began to declare themselves in open Rebellion. The Lord President there, had used his utmost endeavours to suppress their very beginnings, but by reason of his want of strength was now able to contain them no longer: He did with all diligence and carefulness labour to prevent the joyning together of any numbers of the *Irish* in any of those parts: And when he understood how they began in some places of the Province to despoile the *English*, and that they had near *Waterford* gotten away many of the *English* mens Cattle, and were carrying them out of the limits of his government, he thought it not fit longer to sit still, but gallantly pursued those *Rebels* in his own person, being accompanied only with his own Troop of horse, and some few Gentlemen of the Country, who joyned with them, and after a long and tedious march came upon them unawares, slew 200 of those *Rebels*, restored the cattle to the *English* that were owners of them, and took several prisoners whom he hanged for a greater terrour to all such as should adventure afterwards to follow their example: As soon as he had done this service, his Lordship retired back to *Cork*, having neither Forces nor means to make any further prosecution: which the *Irish* well enough understood, and therefore drew together in several places of that Province, and though they did not in that barbarous manner, as they in *Ulster*, hew down, cut in pieces, hang, drown or presently murder all the *English* among them: yet many horrid murders they committed, used several kinds of cruelty to many particular persons, and for all the rest that fell into their hands, they robbed and violently deprived them of all their goods and cattle, most miserably stripped them out of their cloaths and leaving them quite naked, suffered most of them in that lamentable posture to pass to *Cork*, *Youghall*, *Kinsale* and other Ports there to embark their miserable Carkasses for *England* where few arrived safely, and I am sure I may well say few, in respect of those multitudes who perished through want, cold and famine, before they could get to those Towns, or otherwayes dyed after their arrival in them, or were by storms at Sea cast away. And for the *English* who stood upon their guard and immured themselves up in several Castles of good strength in those Parts, they endured many

The revolt of
the *Irish* in
the Province
of *Munster*.

The misery
suffered by
the *English* in
Munster.

Months

Months siege, suffered much want and misery, and having bravely resisted all the assaults and attempts that the *Irish* made with great multitudes upon them, and in many places caused them to raise their sieges with great loss and slaughter of their men, yet they were afterwards, finding themselves without all hope or possibility of relief, enforced to deliver those places together with the multitudes of *English* they had received, into the hands of the *Rebels*, upon fair quarter solemnly promised by them: And in many places no sooner had they by that means gotten entrance into them, but that they most perfidiously broke the quarter given, despoiled them of that little remainder of their substance they had then left, and sent them away in great want and misery to find relief among other *English* Garrisons. But the whole Country being wasted and destroyed, and the poor *English* that lived in them, despoiled of all their substance, were able to afford them very little relief or comfort, besides pity and compassion which could not support or keep alive those languishing gastly Creatures, so as multitudes dyed, some in ditches, some travelling on the high-ways, some under hedges, and so left their Carcasses as fearful spectacles to the beholders, and sad monuments of the inhumane cruelties exercised on them by those bloody *Rebels*, who yet under pretence of mercy spared their lives, but took up a resolution as they were not ashamed to declare, to put them to a more lingering death, and therefore left them in such a condition as inevitably brought on their miserable ends with much more discomfort and sorrow.

But this shall suffice to shew the beginning of the rising of the *Irish* in *Munster*; the particulars whereof shall be clearly and at large set down in the following Relations of their first proceedings within that Province, where it shall be declared likewise, how all the great Town in *Lemster*, except *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, did about the same time begin to strip and expel all the *British* and Protestants, that either inhabited in them or fled out of the Country near about to shelter themselves there, from the barbarous cruelties of their *Irish* neighbours.

Dublin distressed.

As for the City of *Dublin* it began now to be much more straitly encompassed by the Forces of the *Rebels*, much encreased through their late conjunction with the *English* Pale. And in case of their want of power to force it, yet they having made their approaches so near and having so absolutely stopped up all the avenues, as we had great reason to apprehend their keeping back of provisions would drive the City into high necessities, and quickly occasion great want there. And here I cannot without much grief of heart call to mind the lamentable complaints and bitter out-crys, which until this time, were continually sent up unto the Lords Justices and Council, while they remained in this posture, out of several Parts of the Country, where

where the *English* Inhabitants being by the *Irish* driven out of their habitations, had for their present safeguard put themselves into Houses or Castles of some strength; they there enduring much want and misery, made shift though not without great difficulty by several Messages and Letters to make known their condition to the State, as also that they were resolved as many of them did, to suffer the utmost extremities out of hope of relief, and a confident expectation of succours from them.

But Alas all was in vain, they were able to afford them no other comfort than what their pitiful commiseration of their sorrowful condition would administer; they were themselves reduced so low, as with the greatest power they could raise, they durst not adventure to send any ways five miles out of the City, their supplies out of *England* were not arrived, they had neither place nor means to raise men, but only within the virge of the City, and such as they ordinarily took up there, were either *Irish*, whereof many ran presently away with their Arms to the *Rebels*, or poor stripped *English* and Inhabitants of this City who were raw men, and though they afterwards being well exercised and trained to the use of their Arms, proved very good Souldiers; yet for the present they were very unfit for service: As appeared in that little expedition Colonel *Craford* made out with his men to *Finglas*, a little Town two miles distant from the City at the same time, when Sir *Charles Coot* marched forth to beat *Luke Netterville* with his undisciplined Regiment out of his quarters at *Santry*, who having timely notice of his coming saved him the labour, for he presently upon the rumour thereof, dislodged and fled in so much haste, as he left some of his best equipage and all his provisions behind him: But that Party of *Rebels* Colonel *Craford* found at *Finglas*, having placed themselves with good advantage behind great ditches, stood better to their work, and carried themselves so stoutly, as our new raised men began to shrink, and had not the Colonel and some other of his Officers behaved themselves very well that day, their men had made a most dangerous and shameful retreat. This was the greatest expedition the Forces in *Dublin* were able to undertake at that time, which no man will wonder at, if he doth consider as it hath been related, how the Town was in a manner surrounded on every side by several Parties of the *Rebels* gathered together; all commerce was interrupted, all provisions brought out of the Country for the supply of it intercepted, as also, that all the chief of the *English* Inhabitants had transported themselves, their goods, and their Families into *England*, many of the Papists had upon other reasons retired themselves, and what belonged unto them into the Country, and there taken up their habitations within the *Rebels* quarters; no manner of intercourse with any persons whatsoever that made their abode without the distance of two miles from any

Some Forces
sent out to
encounter
the *Rebels*,
who lodged
within three
miles of
Dublin.

Dublin sur-
rounded on
every side by
the *Rebels*.

part of the City, no intelligence to be had upon any terms from among the *Rebels*, all courses taken for it disappointed, several Messengers hanged up; and yet on the other side, all our designs disclosed, our weakness discovered, and the most private resolutions by one means or other communicated unto them. The Parties of the *Rebels* that lay near about the City, were these following; *Luke Netterville* being beaten from *Santry*, lay with near 2000. men at *Swoords*, a Town six miles distant, and possessed himself of the Castle of *Artaine*, and some other places within two miles of the City: On the West-side of the City at *Tassagard Rath-coole*, *Castle Lyons*, and other little Villages within the compass of six miles, there lay 2000. more of the *Rebels* who were come down out of the Counties of *Carterlagh*, *Kings County*, *Kildare*, and other Parts under the command of *Roger Moore*, and *Sutton*, *Eustace of Castle-Martin*, and others. The *Clandonells*, *Birnes* and *Tooles* were also come down in great numbers out of the County of *Wiclow*, and had lodged themselves in some Castles towards the Sea-side, and in some Villages at the foot of the Mountain, not above three or four miles distant from the Town on the South side: How desperately these Forces threatned our ruine and sudden destruction will appear by this ensuing Letter bearing date about the midst of *December*, written from the Lords Justices and Council, unto the Lord Lieutenant then attending for his dispatch.

A LETTER from the Lords Justices and Council,
to the Lord LIEUTENANT.

May it please your Lordships,

BY our Letters of the third of *December*, we made known to your Lordship, that *M. Hawtrige* was then newly arrived with the Treasure sent us from thence, which came but sixteen thousand five hundred fourscore and ten pounds, a supply of Treasure far short of that which is now become necessary to perform any considerable service here against the *Rebels*, whose numbers are increased wonderfully, in so much as the Forces they have about *Drogheda* on all sides it, and between *Drogheda* and this place, reaching even within four miles of this City, are upon very credible report, conceived to be above twenty thousand men, and besides those

those numbers who are so united between this and *Drogheda* and thereabouts, there are many thousands of them dispersed the whole Kingdom over, for the meaner sort of people first rise generally; and then those of better quality follow after; and the fire which was first kindled in *Ulster*, and lay a while smothered in other parts begins now to break out so generally, as the defection now appears to be universal throughout the whole four Provinces; so strangely rooted was the combination, and that strengthened under the specious shew of a Warr for Religion; for although before and since the Caution we had from your Lordship, We have on our part endeavoured not to give any apprehension to the *Irish*, that *England* doth intend to make it a Warr of Religion, yet as we formerly made known to your Lordship, the *Rebels* labour mainly to have it so understood. Nay, they now go so far as they call themselves generally the Catholick Army, a Title which hath drawn many thousands to their party, and yet many joyned with them for no other reason than because they saw our Succours expected forth of *England* and *Scotland* deferred, they rightly judging, that without those Succours, we are not able to defend them our selves, and indeed until those Succours come, they must and will still encrease; but if our men and arms were once arrived, the very countenance of their coming would draw many from them to us, and give some stop to the fury, with which they yet carry all before them whither soever they come.

They continue their rage and malignity against the *English* & Protestants: who if they leave their goods or cattle for more safety with any Papists, those are called out by the *Rebels*, and the Papists goods and cattle left behind; and now upon some new Councils taken by them, they have added to their former, a further degree of cruelty, even of the highest nature, which is to Proclaime, That if any *Irish* shall harbour or relieve any *English*, that be suffered to escape them with his life, that it shall be penal even to death to such *Irish*; and so

they will be sure though they put not those *English* actually to the sword, yet they do as certainly and with more cruelty cut them off that way, than if they had done it by the sword; and they profess they will never give over until they leave not any seed of an *English-man* in *Ireland*.

Nor is their malice towards the *English* expressed only so, but further even to the beasts of their fields, and improvements of their hands, for they destroy all Cattle of *English* breed, and declare openly, that their reason is, because they are *English*; so great is their hatred, not only to the persons of the *English*, but also to every species of that Nation, and they destroy all improvements made by the *English*, and lay waste their habitations.

We formerly signified to your Lordship, that to take away all jealousy from the Papists of the *English Pale*, we would furnish them with some Armes, and the rather because we well know that in the last great Rebellion in *Ireland*, the *English Pale* stood firm to the Crown of *England*; and that the Rebel *Tyrone* in the height of his power and greatness, was never able to get into the *Pale* with his Forces whilest he was in Rebellion; and upon this occasion, the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, making deep professions of their Loyalty to his Majesty, in imitation of their Ancestors, and with expressions seeming to abhor the Contrivers of this Rebellion here against whom they offered their power and strength, so as they might have Armes; and we being well assured, that if we could gain their concurrence with us, it would much facilitate our work; we did at their earnest suit issue for them Armes for one thousand seven hundred men, wherewith divers Companies were armed by them, and some of themselves were appointed Governours of the Forces of the Counties, and Captains of their Companies: but so many of those Companies revolted to the *Rebels*, and carryed away their Armes with them, as we have recovered back but nine hundred and fifty Armes; so as those whose loyalty we had reason to expect

pect would help us, are now through their disloyalty turned against us, and are strengthened with our own Armes; and without all question, if those of the *English Pale* had done their parts as became good subjects with their Armes they had from us, and those they might gather amongst themselves, they might with our help not only have defended the *Pale* against the *Rebels*, but might also have prevented the ruine and destruction wrought by their Tenants and Neighbours on the poor *English* and Protestants amongst them; for the Noblemen and Gentry sate still and looked on, whilest the *English* and Protestants were ruined before their faces; the Papists in the mean time remaining secure without the loss of goods, or any thing else.

When we saw the power and strength of the *Rebels* still growing upon us more & more, and approaching by degrees more near to us, and the *English* and Protestants robbed and spoiled even within two miles of this City, in disdain and affront of this State, which are scorned of so high a nature as we could not endure, if we had strength sufficient to repress their insolencies; and when we observed the retarding of our Succours of men and armes from *England* or *Scotland*, neither of both Succours being yet come, nor as we heard so much as in view there or in *Scotland*, and when we found apparently that for want of those supplies, we became in a manner so contemptible, as we were in danger to be set upon for taking from us this City and Castle before our aides should come, we bethought us of all the means we could of gaining time, being confident that we cannot be so deserted by the State of *England*, but that some supplies may yet come unto us: And therefore on the third of *December*, we directed our Letters to divers of the Nobility of the Kingdom who were nearest to us, and most of them being of the *English Pale*, to be with us here on the eighth day of this Month, that we might confer with them concerning the present state of the Kingdom, and we hoped by their help, to handle the matter so as we might gain a few days

time before our surprisal here, by which time in all likelihood our Succours might arrive, although it be boldly given out by the *Rebels*, that we shall have no Succours from thence, which they divulge to embolden their party, and to strike terror and discouragement into the well affected, amongst whom there are many so weak, as to apprehend from thence too much fear, whereby many are fled the Kingdom.

On the eighth day of this Month, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord Viscount *Fitz Williams*, and the Lord Baron of *Honth* came unto us, but the rest of the Noblemen not coming deferred our conference, and on the eleventh day of this Month we received Letters from seven of them, namely, the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanston*, the Lord Viscount *Netterville*, and the Lords of *Slaine*, *Trimblestone*, *Dunfany* and *Lowth*, dated the seventh day of this Month, and signed by them, pretending a fear of a Massacre on those of their Religion, and that therefore they are deterred, to wait on us, but do rather think it fit to stand upon their guard, and how that resolution of theirs may stand with the loyalty they profess, we humbly submit to his Majesties excellent judgement, for whose royal view we send you here inclosed, a Copy of their said Letters.

When we received those Letters, we did admire whence their fears of coming to us should arise, but afterwards we heard that they had been in consultation with the *Rebels*, which also as to most of them is confirmed by the enclosed Examination of *Christopher Hampton*, and indeed we know no cause of fear they have of us, unless their own guilts begot in them the fear they pretend; and they spare not though unjustly to charge us with a neglect of their advices, whereas not one of them to this House offered to us any advice or real assistance towards Pacification of these troubles.

It became then publick (nor could we keep secret that which they had published to others) that those Noblemen so far sided with the *Rebels* as they now stood on their guard; we there-

therefore adjudged it fit for vindicating the State from the aspersion which we found so publickly endeavoured to be laid upon us, to publish the enclosed Proclamation, as well to satisfy to the world as those Noblemen, who certainly are abundantly satisfied in their own secret thoughts, that we never intended to Massacre them or any other; that being a thing which we and all good Protestants do much abhor, whatever the practice of their Religion is, and hath been found to be by woful experience in other parts, whereof we confess we are now in great danger, if our long expected Succours come not the sooner to us; and it may be gathered from that unexampled tyranny which the *Rebels* have already exercised towards those of our Nation and Religion, who fell into their hands, what we for our parts may expect from them, but the dishonour and shame which may reflect upon the *English* Nation by exposing this State and Kingdom to so apparent ruine, and with it the extirpation of Gods true Religion, afflicts us more than the loss of our own lives and fortunes, when all might be saved by sending seasonably those Succours.

We lately received Letters from the Lady *Ofaly*, and a Letter containing most insolent Menaces inclosed therein, sent her from the *Rebels*, to which she sent them a noble Answer, Copies whereof we send here inclosed.

One of the *Rebels* stiling himself Chaplain Major and Overseer of the Coasts and Harbours, lately sent a Summons in a proud and vaunting manner, to one *Edward Leech*, that was entrusted to keep the Island of *Lambay*, requiring the delivery up of that Island to the *Rebels*, which being done, he gave *Leech* a Pass, wherein he stiles the *Rebels* Forces the Catholick Army: A Copy of which Summons and Pass we send your Lordship here inclosed; and *Leech* told us that that mighty Chaplain declared openly to him, That he was Plotter of this Rebellion, That he had spent in Travel and Prosecution of that design beyond Seas four thousand pounds; and that all the Kings in Christendom, excepting the King of *England*, and the King of *Denmark*, have hands in this business. A Castle

A Castle in the Town of *Longford*, held by the *English*, who stood out awhile against the *Rebels*, being in the end through want of victuals necessitated to be rendred up to them upon promise of quarter, a Popish Priest standing with his Skean in his hand, watching for the coming forth of a Minister then amongst the *English*, did by thrusting that Skean into the Ministers guts, and ripping up his belly, give that as a signal to the *Rebels*, for falling upon the rest of the *English*, which they did accordingly, as soon as the Minister was murdered, killing some, and hanging the rest most perfidiously.

On the ninth of this Month, we received advertisement, that great numbers of men were gathered together in Warlike manner at *Swoords* in the County of *Dublin* within six miles of us, they having the Army of the *Rebels* behind them on this side *Drogheda*; whereupon we then immediately sent out our Warrant, commanding them to disperse: A Copy whereof we send your Lordship here inclosed, which was not obeyed: but a Letter sent us from *Luke Netterville* Son to the Lord Viscount *Netterville* and others of them: A Copy whereof we likewise send here inclosed; whereupon we published the inclosed Manifest, for vindicating this State from their aspersions also: And it is observable, that those Gentlemen at *Swoords* could even on that very Tuesday night, wherein they alledge they were so affrighted at their Houses, assemble twelve hundred men together in that moment of time, to have in readiness against any attempt from the State, whereas for many days before, they could sit still and look on, whilst an Army of the Enemy lay behind them, betwixt them and *Drogheda*, and whilst some of them openly declared *Rebels*, and many of their neighbours, who doubtless hold under-hand intelligence with the *Rebels*, robbed and spoiled the *English* on all parts round about them; and yet those Gentlemen could not in all that time be either so affrighted by the *Rebels*, or so compassionate of their poor *English* neighbours, as to assemble any men for the defence of themselves, or those their poor *English* neigh-

neighbours; and certainly those Gentlemen might have been as believing in this State who have always used lenity and mildness towards them, as in the Forces of the *Rebels* which lie so near behind them, and who they know have murdered many of His Majesties good and innocent Subjects, and for ought they know (if there were not secret intelligence between them) might have used them also in like manner.

But the truth is, we conceive those Gentlemen had a mind to joyn with the *Rebels*, and do now take up pretences to cover their disloyalty, and cast scandal on this Government.

The *Rebels* in the *Pale* as in other parts, have caused Masses to be said openly in the Churches, expelled the Ministers from Officiating in their Churches, and forced divers persons for saving their lives and goods to become Papists, openly professing that no Protestant shall be suffered to live in *Ireland*, and whilst they insult thus over all the *English* and Protestants, destroying them for no other reason, but for that they are Protestants and *English*, we let fall nothing against them touching Religion, and yet they feign things against us, tending that way to give some colour to their cruel proceedings.

The *Rebels* of the County of *Kildare* have taken the *Naas* and *Kildare* in the County of *Kildare*. The *Rebels* of *Meath* have taken *Trim*, and *Ashboy* in the County of *Meath*, and divers other places; The *Rebels* of the County of *Dublin*, have possessed *Swoords* and *Rathcoole*, and spoyle all the *English* and Protestants even to the Gates of *Dublin*, and now about fifteen hundred of the *Rebels* of *Wicklow* are in and about *Powerscuit*, and about ten miles from this City; There are also between this and the *Naas* within six or seven miles of us a thousand of the *Rebels* of *Kildare*, and the Borders of *Wicklow* and *Dublin*, so as we are in this City environed by them on all sides by Land, and they begin to stop accesses to us by Sea, for the Fishermen on the Sea-Coasts being all *Irish* and Papists Inhabitants in the *Pale*, brake out also into Rebellion with the multitude, and have robbed, spoyle and pillaged even with-

in the Bay of *Dublin* several Barks coming hither forth of *England*. And if to revenge this villany on the Fishermen at *Clantarfe* and thereabouts, so near us, we send forth a Party of Souldiers to burn and spoyl those Rebels houses and corn, the Gentlemen of the *Pale* will immediately take new offence; but that we will adventure upon; for now there is no dalliance with them, who so far declare themselves against the State, not caring what scorns are put upon the Government, wherein is observable, that the Landlord of *Clantarfe* is one of those Gentlemen risen in Arms at *Swords*.

Your Lordship now sees not only the necessity of hastening with all possible speed our Succours of men and Arms both out of *England* and *Scotland*, in greater numbers than those at first designed, seeing the breach appears to be far greater, and the defection more general than at first was conceived; and yet so as such of them as are ready be not forced to stay for the rest, but that those may be so ordered as to come after, for no flesh can imagine, unless they saw it as we do, the greatness of our danger, who are but a handful in comparison of the multitudes risen against us: And we desire that the ten thousand designed to come from *Scotland*, may be wholly sent away, as well the five thousand intended to be left there in readiness as the rest, with direction to land as near *Dublin* as they may, and wheresoever they land to march to *Dublin* if possibly they can; And to send away with all speed the Ships appointed for guarding these Coasts, is also very necessary to be hastned, and that two or three Ships of good strength follow after: doubtless these *Rebels* expect a very great supply of Arms and Munition from forraign Parts, either *Spain* or *France*,

And although out of the fore-sight we had of this extremity since these troubles began, we have endeavoured to get in some provisions of victual and corn, yet we have not been able to provide our selves sufficiently to stand out any long siege, nor can we now get in any more, our Markets being almost taken away, and the strength of the *Rebels* surrounding us so as we can
fetch

fetch in no more provisions; wherefore we beseech your Lordship that the Magazins of Victuals designed to be settled on that side, may be settled with all speed, if it be not done already, whereby we and the Succours we expect, may not be in distress of Victuals for our selves or them, or oats for our horses. Our want of Victuals is the more in respect of the daily access of the *English* spoyled in the Country.

The necessity of the defence of the Province of *Munster*, required the immediate raising of a Regiment of Foot consisting of one thousand men, and two Troops of Horse of threescore each Troop, which threescore we appointed the Lord President to raise, and for the payment and arming of them, we humbly advise, seeing we cannot do it, that money and arms be sent from thence to *Toughall*, with a further supply of Arms and Munition for the stores in that Province now much wanting there.

And as the *Rebels* which have beset us and this City on all sides by Land, do threaten to cut off our Market at *Dublin*, which we begin to feel already: so they boldly declare, that they will within a day or two cut off the watercourse, which brings water to this City and Castle; and that done, that their multitudes will immediately burn our Suburbs and besiege our Walls, which we confess we yet want strength to defend, and must want till our Supplies come forth of *England* or *Scotland* or both; for here we have but about three thousand men, the rest of the old Companies being dispersed in several needful Garrisons in the Countrey (excepting seven Companies of them surpris'd, and cut off by the *Rebels* at their first rising in *Ulster* and other Parts) and about two hundred horse by pole of the old Army, whereof many are *Irish*: so as considering the spaciousness of this City & Suburbs to be defended, the smallness of our number to defend them, and the great numbers of Papists Inhabitants in this City and Suburbs; and lastly, the very great numbers of the *Rebels*, who are so strong as to approach this City with many thousands, and yet leave many

thousands also at the siege of *Drogheda*, we cannot expect to be able to defend this City for any long time against them, without the arrival of our expected Succours.

The Earl of *Castle-haven* on the tenth of this Month, presented at this Board the inclosed Oath tendered unto him by the *Rebels* to be sworn by him, which he saith he refused to swear and we hear they send it to all Parts to be tendered to the people, pressing them to take the Sacrament thereupon.

We did lately in hope to gain some time until our supplies might come, listen to an offer made by some Popish Priests to go to the *Rebels* and Treat with them, as you may perceive by the inclosed: But since we find there is little hope of it, for some of the Priests are returned, nothing being wrought thereby.

However it is fit your Lordship should know what we do; we must now crave leave to declare to your Lordship, that things being risen here to this height, threatening not only the shaking of the Government, but the loss of the Kingdom, as the Supplies of men, Arms and more Treasure, are of great necessity to be hastned away hither; so is it also needful that we enjoy your Lordships presence here, for the conduct in your own person of the great and important affairs of this State, as well in the Martial as in the Civil Government, which do necessarily require it in this time of great imminent danger wherein so far as we may be able to contribute any assistance with you, we shall be ready to discharge our duties therein, with that loyalty and uprightness of heart which we owe to his Majesty, and the particular respect due from us to your Lordship; but we hope you will bring that strength with you, which may besit the greatness of the King our Master to send with his Lieutenant against so numerous enemies as these *Rebels* are become, as well for the honour of his Majesty, as for the terrour of those *Rebels*.

By what we have heretofore and now humbly represented to your Lordship, you may in part see the greatness of the publick danger wherein this Kingdom now stands, and particularly this City and Castle, the principal place thereof, that if those be
lost

lost (which we now again assure your Lordship, were never in so great peril to be lost since the first Conquest of this Kingdom by the Crown of *England*) the whole Kingdom must quickly follow, that the danger which must thereupon arise to the Kingdom of *England*, is very great in many respects. There is no possibility to prevent those evils with honour and safety to *England* but by Succours from thence or *Scotland*, or both, and that if those Succours come not speedily, it cannot be avoided, but the Kingdom must be lost. And if notwithstanding all this so often and truly made known by us to your Lordship, we shall perish for want of Supplies, we shall carry this comfort with us to our graves or any other burial we shall have, that your Lordship can witness for us to the Royal Majesty and to all the world that we have discharged our duties to God, to his Majesty, to that Nation, and to this, in humbly representing to his Majesty by your Lordship, the chief Governour of the Kingdom, the extremities and dangers wherein his Kingdom and people stand, and the necessity of hastning Supplies hither, by all possible means for preservation of both, so as whatever become of our persons, our memory cannot be justly stained with so wretched a breach of faith and loyalty to the King our Master, as to forbear representing thither the extremities wherein we are, whether we have the credit to be believed or no; and that we write truth, and most needful truth, will be found true, when perhaps we shall perish, and which is more considerable, the Kingdom also for want of being believed and succoured in time. And so we remain

Your Lordships to be commanded,

William Parsons. Jo. Burlace.

Ormond Ossory. R. Dillon. Char. Lambart.

Ad. Loftus. John Temple. Charles Coot.

Francis Willoughby. R. Meredith.

From his Majesties Castle of *Dublin*,

14 December 1641.

Y 3

Post-

Postscript.

BY Your Letters to your Lordship of the 22. of November, We did desire to be informed from thence, whether the Parliament here being once Prorogued, may not again be prorogued by Proclamation before they sit, or whether it be of necessity that they must sit again, and the Parliament to be Prorogued the House sitting. And now that this Rebellion hath over-spread the whole Kingdom, and that many members of both Houses are involved therein, so as the Parliament cannot sit. We humbly desire to know his Majesties pleasure therein, and if his Majesty shall think fit to Prorogue it, which in present we held expedient, that then we may receive his commandment for Prorogation, and that the doubt concerning that be cleared; for to assemble at that time cannot be with safety.

Our Letters of the third of December, have been hitherto with-held on this side by contrary winds.

In this most miserable condition, the Lords Justices and Council continued shut up within the City of *Dublin*, struggling with all their power for a short preservation from those dismal calamities which had generally overspread the whole Kingdom: Their care, travel, and endeavours, had hitherto in some measure extended to the most remote parts; how they might swage the swelling distempers, or yield some relief to the lamentable complaints and bitter out-cries daily brought up unto them. But now the evils abroad were grown past their cure, and their own dangers so multiplyed as they were enforced to spend their time almost in a perpetual consultation, never at rest, sometimes raised in the night by sudden advertisements, always in constant perplexity and trouble, desperately threatned on every side, so as what through treachery within or from without, they had just reason to apprehend the loss of the City and Castle wherein they had enclosed themselves, and so consequently the ruine and destruction of all the British and Protestants throughout all other parts of the Kingdom. And thus they continued until the most happy and welcome arrival of that truly valiant Gentleman and gallant Commander Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who being designed Governour of the City of *Dublin*, was dispatched away by special Order of Parliament with his Regiment for the preservation of that place, and landed here on the last of *December*, 1641. to the great joy and comfort of all his Majesties Protestants, and well affected Subjects, and to the terrour of those *Rebels* now in Armes, who had made themselves believe that no Succours would be sent out of *England* towards the suppressing of their notorious Rebellion.

And now my intentions were to have proceeded further on in setting down what hath fallen out within the next four Months, and then to have added a brief account of all such particular passages as have been acted during the space of those six Months within all the several Counties of this Kingdom,

and

The arrival
of Sir *Simon
Harcourt*
with Forces
out of *Eng-
land*.

and so having recollected and presented as it were at one view the publick calamities and miserable desolations of all the four Provinces there, to have sat down and made the first period of this Story.

But I must here take up being unexpectedly called away; I resolve therefore patiently to attend the restoring of this Kingdom and the resettlement of our affairs, and then if I find not this work undertaken and perfected by some more skilful hand, I shall hope to get the rest of my tailing together, and make such further provision of all other materials as may enable me to go through with the same.

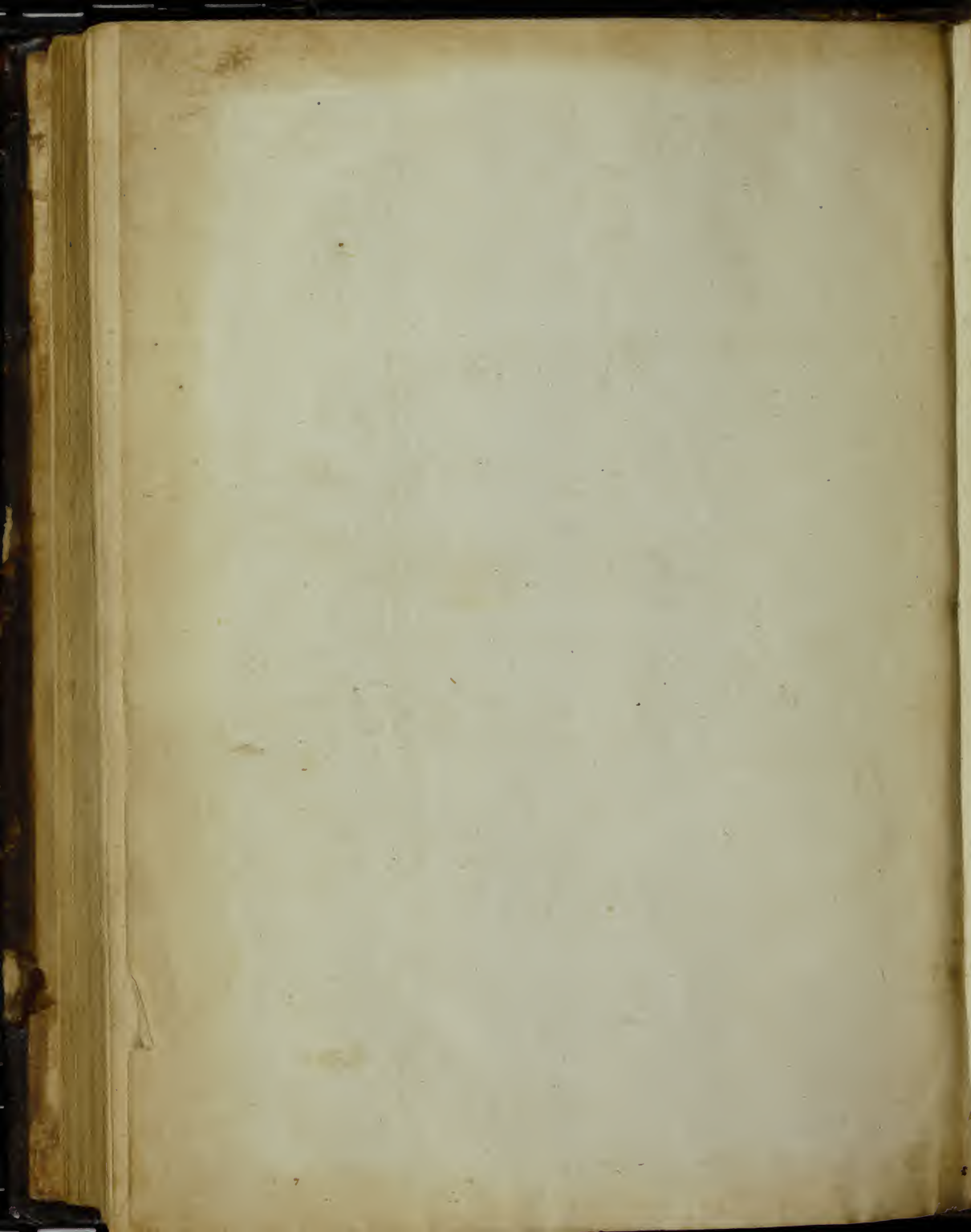
In the mean time it will not be amiss to take notice, that the *Rebels* within very few Months after their first breaking out, had so ordered their affairs, as that by their sudden surpris, their sharp and bloody executions, their barbarous stripping, and despoiling of all sorts that fell into their hands, they had cleared the Inland Counties of all the *British* Inhabitants: And except some few Castles and other places of strength which they held severally besieged, and had most of them suddenly after surrendred for want of relief, they had in a manner made themselves absolute Masters in all those Parts of the Kingdom. And for the Maritime places, there were only some of the chief Cities which were held out against them, besides some few other Forts and places of no great importance: As in the province of *Leinster*, the City of *Dublin*; and in the Province of *Munster*, the Cities of *Cork*, *Youghall*, and *Kinsale*; in *Ulster*, *London-Derry*, *Colraine* and *Careyfergus*: And all these they held either besieged, much distressed, or they were otherways so overpestered with the multitudes of poor stripped people fled to them for safety, as they were confident they could not long hold out, but that either open force, treachery, famine, or sickness would within a short time inevitably put them into their hands.

Thus it pleased God to humble his own people in this Land, and for their sins to give them up into the power of their cruel Enemies, who began now to sacrifice to their own nets, to celebrate the memory of their Victories: And upon the prosperity of their undertakings and late success, they were become so confident of prevailing even to the total extirpation of all the *British* and *Protestants* out of this Kingdom, as they proceeded to set down a certain form of Government, nominated the persons whom they intended to entrust with the management of their affairs, what Laws they would have re-yoked, what Statutes newly enacted: And in the mean time they erected a Council which they stiled the Supreme Council, which they invested with absolute Power and Authority, to order and govern the whole Kingdom. This consisted of certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, three or four Lawyers, and one Physician, who being elected unto this charge, had the place of their residence appointed unto them at *Kilkenny*, a City in the Province of *Leinster*, where they sat ordinarily for the dispatch of all the great and weighty affairs.

affairs of their State : They there erected several Courts of Judicature, they made a new broad Seal, appointed several great officers of State, coyned mony, settled an excise upon all kind of commodities, and performed many other acts of regal power.

Now how they proceeded on in the ordering these their great affairs, what Councils they took, what means they used to enable themselves to make opposition against the Forces sent over by the Parliament of *England* into all the four Provinces of *Ireland*, I shall here forbear to speak of. These particulars must be reserved for the ensuing part of this Story, where they will most properly fall in to be related : And where likewise, we shall find so strange a turn, such a remarkable declination of their power, their hearts failing them for fear, their Councils infatuated, their designs blasted, their Forces routed, their sieges raised, such a general deffailance and in-prosperity in all their undertakings, as we must needs give glory to our Maker, and acknowledge that God hath most wonderfully wrought for the deliverance of the poor small remnant of his people, which were here shut up and designed to the slaughter.

For after a considerable number of Horse as well as Foot sent over by the Parliament of *England* arrived at *Dublin*, and had in some petty encounters thereabouts tried the mettall of the *Rebels*, and found their spirit of a poor and base alloy, they began extreemely to disvalue them, and would be no longer abused with the fabulous reports of their great strength or numbers which with much advantage they had long made use of : Therefore now they began to seek them out in all places, and wheresoever they came to meet with them, they always prevailed even with small numbers very often against great multitudes of them, sparing not many times to pursue them into the midst of their greatest fastnesses, and made the very bogs and woods unsafe receptacles for their broken Troops. And with so great success, was the war prosecuted by the *English* from the first landing of their Forces out of *England* until the Treaty of that most unhappy Cessation concluded in *Sept. 1643.* as that in all the incounters they had with the *Rebels* during that time, they never received any scorn or defeats, but went on Victoriously, beating them down in all Parts of the Kingdom : And so they carried on their work before them without any assistance either from the meer *Irish* or the *English Irish* : For I can not my self remember any Gentleman of quality throughout the whole Kingdom that was there born and bred up a Papist that put himself into that service, or desired to be listed as a member of the *English Army*. It is true, some of the common Souldiers there, were of the *English Irish* that came in, and though they were not considerable for their number, yet they did good service and still with much fury and sharpness followed on upon the execution.



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